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JPRS 84084

10 August 1983

# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2181

19980609 142

INFO QUALITY INSPECTED 2

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CPCZ'S BILAK ADDRESSES RALLY IN PORTUGAL

PM011438 Lisbon AVANTE! in Portuguese 9 Jun 83 p 3

[From speech by CPCZ Presidium member Vasil Bilak at 8 June friendship rally in Benavente: "To Build Socialism Is Also To Struggle for Peace"]

[Text] ...The struggle for peace is also an important part of building socialism. Socialism cannot exist without peace. It is in work for peace that it proves its historical superiority over capitalism. That is why our society views today as its most important task the struggle for the maintenance of peace, for ending the increasing arms race, and for the elimination of the danger of a nuclear war.

We also confirmed this at the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee meeting held in Prague in January. We put forward there a clear program of what it is necessary to do and how it is possible to eliminate the dangerous existing situation, how it is possible to prevent nuclear catastrophe and the destruction of civilization.

We are convinced that the forces of peace are so strong today that, if they remain united, they can secure a decisive turnabout in the unfavorable evolution of the international situation. In this connection an important initiative is aimed at concluding a "Treaty on the Nonuse of Military Force and the Maintenance of Peaceful Relations" between the Warsaw Pact countries and NATO.

It is not possible to separate peace from socialism. The socialist countries have never forgotten this principle, applying it consistently in their foreign policy.

Czechoslovakia, which does not have a single missile with a nuclear payload on its territory, is, however, threatened by the aggressive policy of the United States and its plans for deployment of U.S. nuclear missiles near our border. This inhuman conception of so-called limited nuclear war threatens the nuclear destruction of the whole of Europe--this ancient cradle of a beautiful and irreplaceable civilization.

We must therefore do our utmost together to ensure that Europe is a continent of peace and cooperation among nations. At this time which is so important for the whole world, it is not possible to regard political or religious affiliation as paramount; for all progressive forces in the world it is vital and essential to unite effectively all their forces for the salvation of human civilization and life on our planet.

Together with all progressive forces in the world, we must do our utmost to ensure that reason and good sense prevail over madness and that life in peace is guaranteed for everybody.

We Czechoslovak communists support the Soviet Union as the principal force which guarantees our country's peace and security, and we highly appreciate the Soviet Union's constant efforts in the struggle for peace and against the danger of war. The Soviet Union constantly demonstrated by its activities loyalty and self-sacrifice for the cause of socialism and for its further development.

The Communist Party and our people will never forget the losses which the Soviet Union suffered in the struggle against fascism for Europe's salvation from fascist barbarity. And in the same way we deem it today our communist duty to express admiration and deep appreciation to Lenin's party and the Soviet people for their exemplary, self-sacrificing, and decisive fulfillment of internationalist duty in the struggle for the maintenance of peace and for their decisive contribution to the development of the world socialist revolution.

In the current difficult and exacerbated international situation, we also deem it our paramount duty to contribute to the failure of the criminal plans now in Europe and to stop imperialism, which is threatening mankind's very existence.

All the socialist countries are prepared to face up to the hazardous plans of U.S. and world imperialism. It has already been said many times that the countries of the socialist community will not allow imperialism to achieve the so greatly desired superiority over the socialist community, and that, on the contrary, they will do their utmost to ensure that a return to the path opened up by Helsinki is achieved, and that an agreement is finally reached on strategic arms limitation and ending the arms race caused by U.S. circles of the military and industrial monopolies.

An important peace initiative, which is the World Assembly for Peace and Life Against Nuclear War, which will take place in Prague 21 through 26 June, should also contribute to this....

CSO: 2400/378

LENART ADDRESSES HUNGARIAN MINORITY

AU291031 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 27 Jun 83 pp 1, 3

["Excerpt" from the speech by Jozef Lenart, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, at the 28th cultural festival of the Hungarian working people in the CSSR, held in Gombasek on 25 June--passages between slantlines are published in boldface]

[Text] Comrade J. Lenart first drew attention to the fact that the festival of the cultural and artistic creativity of our Hungarian fellow citizens in the Gombasek valley is, at the same time, a traditional festival of peace, liberated work, and our people's life. It is symptomatic and symbolic that also Slovak, Czech, and Ukrainian ensembles are taking part in this noble event. This has become a good tradition. You and other citizens from far and wide are thus jointly demonstrating the unity of our people, of our nations and nationalities that live in harmony in their homeland--the CSSR.

/In these days and moments, the eyes of our people and the attention of the broad world public are fixed on Prague where the World Assembly for Peace and Life, Against Nuclear War is just culminating. In defiance of intrigues, threats, and obstacles placed in the delegations' path by reactionaries in Western countries, representatives of the public from many countries of the world have met in Prague. They are people of diverse tongues, nationalities, races, philosophical views and religious beliefs. They have met because they are united by the most sacred of all aspirations--the desire to live in peace and the will to fight for it./

This unique representative assembly is warning with unusual force that it is high time to act, to jointly and resolutely resist the attempts to unleash a nuclear war. Through the fault of world imperialism, the Damocles' sword of nuclear catastrophe is hovering over mankind. The irresponsible and adventurous policy of the U.S. ruling circles, their line aimed at producing new types of offensive strategic missiles and biological weapons, and their provocative endeavor to deploy in Western Europe nuclear missiles, which are first strike missiles, all this increases the threat of nuclear war. We must erect a dam in the way in this criminal policy, which poses a threat to the entire human race.



/Such a [word indistinct] is, and can be, the unity of all peace movements, antiwar forces, and mass currents against nuclear weapons, a unity that represents a mighty force. It is this unity for the creation of which the Prague assembly is calling on all people of good will in Europe, America, Asia, Africa, and Australia. Along with the delegates of the peace congress, also our citizens--men and women, the old and the young, and, together with them, also we, the participants in this festival--are shouting our resolute No to the attempts to unleash a nuclear war. We urgently demand that feverish armament be stopped and disarmament brought about./

We are convinced that it is not the Pentagon's effort to achieve supremacy but the balance of forces on increasingly lower levels that guarantees peace and represents a reliable path toward limiting armament and bringing about complete disarmament.

We are immensely glad that the World Assembly for Peace and Life, Against Nuclear War is taking place in our homeland. It is a great honor for our people, an expression of recognition for their peace movement, and an appreciation for socialist Czechoslovakia's peace-promoting stance. We in our socialist homeland support without reservation the struggle of peace and antiwar forces. Our public unanimously supports the appeal of the Soviet Union to the other nuclear powers that they, too, following the Soviet example, commit themselves not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. It supports the proposal of the Soviet Union that a treaty on refraining from the use of military force be concluded between the states of the Warsaw Pact and NATO. And we also fully identify with the proposal of the Soviet Union addressed to the United States, Great Britain, France, and the PRC that they simultaneously freeze all their nuclear weapons, in both quantitative and qualitative terms.

In these fateful moments, all of us are facing the question and decision--what shall we do, at whose side do we want to, and will, proceed? Whether we will go with the arms monopolies which, in the interest of their horrifying profits, are setting the spiral of the arms race into motion and playing hazardous games with life on our planet; with those who dropped nuclear bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki and were using terrible chemical weapons against the women, children, and old men of Vietnam; with those who are planning the "first nuclear strike" and cynically declare that there are things more important than peace and life.

Of shall we go with those who were the first to use nuclear power for peaceful aims, for the benefit of mankind, who were the first to send a manned spacecraft--with the messenger of peace, the giant Gagarin on board--into orbit. With those who saved mankind from the fascist destruction, who are using all their potential against war and for peace, and who are a model of reason, integrity, and responsibility.

/I am convinced that also at this rally we will voice support for our tested path. For the path at the side of the Soviet Union, with which we fought for freedom, with which we have been building, and continue to build, a new life, and together with which--and I am convinced of this--we will defend peace, the bright future of mankind!

/When we realize that the socialist community is the hope and mainstay of the life of mankind in peace and of its future without wars, it must encourage us even more that our community is growing in strength, that it continues to march forward, and that it more and more distinctly manifests its merits./ Yet it is true that the unity and the development of the socialist countries are a thorn in the flesh of the imperialist circles, which are doing everything they can to shake our cohesion and upset our stability. That is why they are slandering Czechoslovakia and other socialist countries. They are exacerbating economic discrimination--they want to blackmail us, rob us more than so far, and profit from us. They are waging against us psychological warfare and declaring crusades against the government of the people and the power of the workers class, which allegedly has no historical justification.

These insidious claims are made by representatives of the exploitative social system, which is laying off millions of people, depriving them of their life guarantees. They are representatives of the social system which is responsible for the enormous suffering, humiliations, and tragedies of the nations and nationalities of prewar Czechoslovakia, as well as the peoples of other countries of central and southeast Europe.

Our people have long memories, they have not forgotten and they will not forget how the ruling classes of capitalists, financial magnates, and large estate-owners heckled the nations and nationalities apart, in the interests of their profits, also in this area; and how, for the sake of maintaining their class rule, they pitted against each other the working people of individual countries. We know very well where this led to, and where this landed us, as regards Czechoslovakia: in Munich, in the bourgeoisie's shameful betrayal, in capitulation, in trucking to German fascism, in the loss of national and state independence, in the threat of the physical annihilation of our nations. That is also why, under the favorable conditions established by the Soviet Union's victory over fascist Germany, Czechoslovakia's working people, like the working people of Hungary, Poland, and other countries, under the leadership of their communist parties, drew the only correct conclusion from these past tragedies and rejected the capitalist system of exploitation and social and national oppression, and embarked on the path of socialism.

We can justly say that /it was socialism that put an end to the conflicts introduced among our countries by the ruling bourgeoisie and that also established a favorable base for their friendship, cooperation, and common path of progress./

We justly appreciate that /it was the power of the workers class, of all working people, which has raised our countries from their former economic obsolescence to all-round material and spiritual prosperity./

We can justly underscore that /it was socialism that turned these countries, which in the past had depended on imperialism and were subordinated to it, into free and sovereign states which have a guaranteed national and state existence in the harmonious family of the socialist community headed by the Soviet Union. And it was also socialism that dealt with and resolved in a spirit of equal rights, brotherhood, and friendship the relations between nations and nationalities, not only toward the outside but also within these countries./ This is also how it was, and is, in our socialist Czechoslovakia.

That is why we say with deep conviction that the endeavors of imperialist circles and of their ideological subversion centers to glorify the capitalist system in the eyes of our people are all in vain, as are their attempts to poison the relations between our countries and nations by reactionary chauvinism. Czechoslovakia's working people, our nations and nationalities, have paid a very high price for their experience and that is why no force can deflect them from the path for which they have fought together, which they have chosen freely, and which they are pursuing with certainty. /The firmer our community is, the more reliable is the cause of peace. The more fruitful our cooperation is, the more favorable are the conditions for an effective development of the economy of every country and of the socialist community as a whole. That is why we will develop even more resolutely the ties with the socialist countries, and particularly our all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union./

Recently, on the occasion of the 35th anniversary of Victorious February [1948, communist takeover], when we were assessing the path we have traversed, we could proudly take stock of the great successes achieved by the Czechoslovak people. In a historically brief period we built the foundations of socialism in our fatherland and resolved the people's cardinal national and social problems which had been distressing and oppressing them for centuries. We developed the production forces rapidly and comprehensively and we overcame Slovakia's deep backwardness.

One of the people's great revolutionary achievements is the fact that we have resolved the nationality issue in our state in the process of socialist changes. Relations based on equal rights, relations that are truly fraternal and comradely, have been created between the Czechs and Slovaks and the members of other nationalities; their ties have been, and are being, comprehensively developed; and our unity is consolidating in an unprecedented manner./

/This is the result of the party's correct Leninist policy. It led to our overcoming the substantial differences in the economic, social, and cultural life of our nations and nationalities; it led to the implementation of socialist democracy among them; and it led to the realization of the principles of socialist federation in the constitutional sphere./ And it is this very path that has also led to the remarkable advance of the Hungarian nationality, to its taking a dignified place in the family of nations and nationalities of socialist Czechoslovakia.

On the present occasion, too, we state with gratification that the districts of our southern Slovakia, inhabited by our Hungarian fellow-citizens together

with the Slovak fellow-citizens--the territories which, under the exploiters' rule, during the reign of the Hapsburgs and Masaryks, was among the poorest outlying areas of the Danubian basin--have now become a comprehensively advanced, equal component of the Czechoslovak state.

Thanks to the assistance of the socialist state and the great diligence of agriculturists--who are cleverly utilizing favorable climatic conditions and materializing the knowledge of science, and particularly the advantages of new production relations--we have built a modern socialist agricultural large-scale production in southern Slovakia.

It is encouraging that many cooperatives and state farms in the Dunajske Streda, Galanta, but also Roznava, and other districts have become examples of how to raise our self-sufficiency in foodstuffs by high yields of grain crops and corn. We speak proudly of the dynamically developing industry and of the currently strengthening production-technical base, which is particularly due to the advance of the engineering and electrotechnical industry, and we speak of building important power projects in this area.

This base has been significantly increasing job opportunities, and the ranks of the workers class, which has become numerically the strongest also as regards the structure of the citizens of Hungarian nationality in Slovakia, are rapidly expanding. The ranks of the intelligentsia were strengthened and will be strengthened also in the future. Also in the social sphere a level has been reached, which is approximately equal to the other spheres in Slovakia. Alone in the 1960-80 period, some 170,000 new apartments were built here, which is half of the existing housing fund.

/Many ranking workers, heroes of socialist labor, workers, cooperative farmers and members of the intelligentsia of Hungarian nationality have a share in these successes. Permit me to fulfill the honorable duty and in the name of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and of Comrade Gustav Husak to express thanks and recognition to all our Hungarian fellow citizens, who by their good and conscientious work are contributing to the improvement of our CSSR./

Our Hungarian fellow citizens have the opportunity to acquire in their mother tongue their basic education, general knowledge and many skills. For example, thanks to the care of the party and state agencies, the number of children in Hungarian-speaking kindergartens has increased in recent years, and in harmony with the economic development also the training of youth at secondary, vocational and university-level schools is being improved. In the interest of increasing further the number of students at university-level schools and of ensuring that our Hungarian fellow citizens can assert themselves even better in economic and state functions throughout the whole state, it is proper and useful to perfect the teaching of the Slovak language in addition to the mother tongue in the organizations of the National Front, in science, in the army and in the National Security Corps. The Hungarian national culture in Slovakia, fostering national pride and the awareness of close cohesion and belonging to our nations and nationalities, is fruitfully developing as integral part of unified Czechoslovak culture.

Your Cultural Union of Hungarian Working People plays an important and indispensable role when it comes to developing cultural life among the citizens of Hungarian nationality and their social activity. By its activity it actively contributes to the formation of the socialist way of life and to the education of Hungarian fellow citizens in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and Czechoslovak socialist patriotism. In the name of the party and state agencies I would like to express appreciation for this work, to thank the agencies and organizations of Czemadok for it and to voice the conviction that they will continue to improve their work for the benefit of the common Czechoslovak socialist fatherland.

/Summing up, we can thus say that the experience from the years of socialist construction, from the good times and bad times, has taught what great importance for the fulfillment of our goals, the unity of our nations and nationalities has. We will therefore safeguard and strengthen this unity as one of the conditions for our success, for our progress, and we will not permit it to be disturbed in any way. By taking the Leninist path of development and drawing the relations between our nations and nationalities close, we will elevate these relations to a higher level.

And precisely in the interest of an all-round development of our society it is necessary to consistently fulfill the line of the 16th CPCZ Congress in all spheres and, above all, even more resolutely proceed with the intensification of our economy. Therefore the CPCZ Central Committee at its eighth session stressed with great urgency the need to implement scientific-technical development more courageously in all sectors as the decisive path for the most effective utilization of all resources which we have at our disposal. What is involved is transforming the fairly narrow street constituted by scientific-technical development into a broad avenue of a rapid, mass and uninterrupted implementation of the latest achievements of science and technology./

This is the revolutionary role of the times, it is the key to a new upswing of the economy and the entire society. It is necessary that such an activity, the increasing offensive in utilizing the results of science and technology, should show results as soon as possible--in a greater share of first class quality products, technologically and economically demanding products, that it should show in a more marked growth of effectiveness throughout the national economy.

In the final part of his speech, Comrade J. Lenart expressed the conviction that also the working people of the Slovakia's southern districts will support the party Central Committee's appeal in precisely this way, and with better work, more efficient utilization of all resources and preparation and successful mastering of production programs, they will multiply their contribution to the further increase of the state's economic strength and to the advance of the entire society.

CSO: 2400/378

CHIEF OF STAFF ON MISSILES, RESPONSE

LD111157 Prague CTK in English 1035 GMT 11 Jul 83

[Text] Prague, [no date as received]--"The dangerous trends in the military policy of the United States and NATO necessarily lead to the conclusion that we are experiencing one of the most intensive attempts of imperialism to slow down the revolutionary process in the world," Colonel General Miloslav Blahnik, Czechoslovak People's Army chief of staff and first deputy defence minister, wrote in RUDE PRAVO today.

"The USA intends to stop at nothing in its 'crusade' against communism, revolutionary development and social progress. It wants to station its nuclear weapons of first strike in Western Europe, and this will lead to further growth of nuclear potentials with all the dangerous consequences stemming from it for Western Europe."

Miloslav Blahnik stressed the present approximate balance in the NATO and Soviet medium-range nuclear weapons--some 1,000 missiles. The planned stationing of another 572 weapons in Western Europe would upset this balance to the benefit of U.S. and NATO superiority in terms of quantity and quality.

Colonel General Miloslav Blahnik went on to describe the lack of will of the United States and NATO to reach an agreement on disarmament as the basic cause of the persistent tension in international relations.

He pointed to the Soviet-U.S. talks on the limitation of strategic nuclear arms and medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe, which have so far yielded no positive results due to the U.S. policy, and recalled the Warsaw Treaty peace proposals contained in the January political declaration, confirmed again in the joint statement of the top party and state officials of the socialist countries issued in Moscow on June 28 this year.

"The proposals of the socialist countries, led by the Soviet Union, do not stem from weakness or fears that we would be unable to face various forms of pressure of imperialist forces," Miloslav Blahnik said.

"If the United States starts implementing its plan of so-called nuclear modernization despite the efforts exerted by the socialist countries and the progressive public of the whole world, the Warsaw Treaty member states, including our country, will naturally be forced to take steps to prevent the present balance of military forces in Europe from being upset," Miloslav Blahnik concluded.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

EAST SLOVAKIA: NEW NATIONAL COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN ELECTED

AU080815 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 6 Jul 83 p 2

[CTK report: "At the East Slovak Regional National Committee"]

[Text] Kosice (CTK)--The East Slovak Regional National Committee convened in Kosice yesterday, in the presence of Matus Benyo, deputy chairman of the Slovak National Council, and Stefan Lazar, minister of interior of the Slovak Socialist Republic. On behalf of the Presidium of the CPSL Regional Committee and the Presidium of the Regional Committee of the National Front of the Slovak Socialist Republic, Jan Pirc, leading secretary of the CPSL Regional Committee and chairman of the Regional Committee of the National Front of the Slovak Socialist Republic, submitted the proposal that Jan Brondos, chairman of the Regional National Committee, be released from this post in connection with his retirement. He expressed appreciation for his more than 30 years of work in party and state bodies, through which he has significantly contributed to the revolutionary transformations of the region. At the same time he proposed that the deputies elect Ivan Gonko, until June chairman of the Regional Trade Union Council, who has rich experience in mass-political work, new chairman of the Regional National Committee. After a unanimous vote, Stefan Lazar presented to Ivan Gonko the insignia of the chairman of the Regional National Committee. The session then discussed a report on the fulfillment of tasks in the sector of transportation, car repairs, and road economy in the region.

CSO: 2400/378

PROSECUTION OF ECONOMIC CRIME DESCRIBED

Prague NOVA MYSL in Czech No 5, Apr 83 pp 66-78

[Article by Jaroslav Krupauer: "Systematically Against Infractions of the Socialist System of Law"]

[Text] Continued economic, political and cultural development of our socialist society calls for using all the advantages offered by the socialist system, the spirit of devotion and ideological awareness of the citizenry. Comrade Gustav Husak pointed out at the 16th CPCZ Congress in his report on party activities and development of society since the 15th Congress that "...the great and difficult tasks that we set for ourselves in development of the socialist society will be accomplished if the party will keep developing its political educational and ideological efforts in accordance with new needs, if we continue to improve the spirit of socialist awareness, education and cultural maturity of the workers." For that reason, devotion to constant improvement of the awareness and activism of the masses remains the basic tenet and key thematic content of all party activities.

The objective of forming the socialist awareness of our citizens is their education in a spirit of high ideological awareness and devotion to their socialist country, toward a socialist relation to work and to public ownership, toward complete overcoming of anachronisms, bourgeois thinking and ingrained habits incompatible with socialist ethics.

In a socialist society it is impossible to tolerate such phenomena as wastefulness and irresponsibility, transgressions against work discipline, parasitism, mercenary self-interest, an effort to take from society as much as possible and give nothing in return, indifference to the interests of the society as a whole, abuse of positions and corruption. Eradication of these anachronisms of the past, which are antithetic to socialism and obstruct progress and which still persist in our life, calls for systematic, purposeful and irreconcilable struggle against them.

One of the key means for this struggle, for protection of the basic interests of the socialist society is the socialist legal system. Legal regulations are used to arbitrate the most important social relations, to promote smooth organization, order and discipline within society. Legal norms provide for



participation of workers in the management of society and of the state, specify the rights of citizens and delineate their obligations. Legal regulations make it possible to apply redress for legal responsibility against all those who by their needs have committed an infraction of their stipulated obligations.

One of the basic principles contained in the socialist constitution of the CSSR is the obligation of all citizens and of all state and social organizations to abide by the legal system of the socialist state.

For that reason, a part of ideological indoctrination is familiarization of the citizenry with the legal system, contributing to conscientious exercise of their rights and obligations, increasing their interest in maintaining civil and work discipline and promoting smooth organization in production and in social life in general, their active participation in maintenance of public order, strict and unswerving compliance with the socialist legal system, toward strengthening the legal awareness of citizens of the socialist Czechoslovakia. Socialist legal awareness, which is an inseparable part of socialist social awareness, includes the opinions and concepts of the workers class and of the rest of the working public of law and their attitudes toward it. Socialist legal awareness affects the attitudes of the citizens to the state and its organs, forming a part of the basic political involvement of the citizenry in public life.

The special significance of socialist legal awareness is constituted by the fact that it is specifically its level which, in addition to the coercive power of the state, is becoming an increasingly important prerequisite and a guarantee for systematic application of laws and other legal regulations. With the growth of socialist awareness, with reinforcing of socialist ethics and socialist legal awareness are also given improved prerequisites for the people to behave to an ever-increasing degree in keeping with legal regulations, specifically as the result of their awareness of citizens, led by the rules of socialist ethics.

In keeping with the care devoted to formulation of socialist legal awareness, it was pointed out at the 16th Congress that "our laws are an expression of the will of the people, they protect the rights and interests of the citizens and of our social system. Cultivation of respect toward the law and laws and reinforcement of the socialist legal awareness of citizens are among the foremost duties of social organizations, school, family and the socialist state." The problem of forming legal awareness must be given increasing attention.

In spite of the results attained in this area, which are reflected in the current level of sociopolitical and labor activities of the working public, the legal awareness of some individuals keeps on being marked to a differing degree and intensity by outmoded anachronisms of the past society, to include remnants of bourgeois and petty bourgeois legal awareness. Comrade Vasil Bilak at the plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee in March 1980 remarked in context with the problem of forming the socialist way of life that "...there still persist remnants of old reactionary habits and traditions, provincialism and egotism, there exist parasitism and criminality. It is specifically these phenomena that enemies try to revive and use against us."

The effects of these outmoded remnants of the past are made possible and are reinforced by some shortcomings in management and control at individual links of the control mechanism.

With a low level of legal awareness, its weak points and shortcomings become reflected in the most varied infractions of legal regulations. For example, economic organizations fail to meet mutual contractual agreements, infringement of labor law regulations occurs in socialist organizations, there is inadequate enforcement of planning, fiscal and technological discipline, allowances are made for poor-quality production, there is inadequate administration of nationally owned property, and individuals commit criminal and other anti-social activities.

Thus, it is a very pressing task to systematically reinforce the legal awareness of our citizens as the decisive prerequisite for conscientious abiding by the provisions of the socialist legal system and maintenance of state, work and civic discipline. Of course, we ask ourselves the question as to the direction in which to focus main attention, in which area is the state of legal awareness least satisfactory at the present.

The state of legal awareness appears also as an important factor influencing the extent and gravity of such a mass-occurrence negative social phenomenon as commission of criminal activities. In keeping with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism we consider criminality to be a historically determined phenomenon connected inseparably with the class antagonism of a society based on exploitation. Marx and Engels proved that the social causes of criminality stem from the capitalist social system. "...The root of all current evil is the contemporary economic basis of society...." Lenin explained analogously that social causes of criminality must be sought in exploitation of the masses, in their misery and poverty. The basic social causes of criminality were eliminated in Czechoslovakia in the course of the relatively short period of transition from capitalism to socialism, in laying the foundations of socialism. In comparison with the pre-Munich republic, very substantial changes have occurred in our country in the structure, state, and developmental trends of criminality and its causes. In qualitative and quantitative indicators, criminality in socialist Czechoslovakia is an incomparably lesser problem and evil than it is in capitalist countries.

Nevertheless, even in today's socialist society in our country commission of criminal activity remains a negative phenomenon which causes substantial losses to its economic, social and moral development, and that despite the fact that in the course of the seventies there occurred a considerable reduction in criminality. In the course of the mentioned period, the number of prosecuted perpetrators of criminal acts was reduced 32 percent. Even though this decrease was not continuous, without fluctuations and temporary increases, we are justified in considering it a significant accomplishment of the socialist social order in which we effectively manage to protect public order, peace and the rights of citizens.

The results of the struggle against infractions of the law and commission of criminality are always an important indicator of the state of legality. Therefore, we have found with justified concern that over the past 3 years (1980-1982) the decrease in criminality in the CSSR, and particularly in the CSR, came to a standstill. Nevertheless, the reason for this detrimental development was not a general increase in detected criminal activity. This increase occurred, for all practical purposes, only in cases of perpetrators of criminal acts involving looting of property in socialist ownership and stealing. At present, the perpetrators of the mentioned criminal acts represent almost 40 percent of all perpetrators in the CSR. Perpetrators of all criminal acts directed against the socialist economy and all criminal acts against private property represent almost half of all persons prosecuted in the CSR. From this it follows that while in a majority of criminal cases the number of their perpetrators remains on the same level or even shows a moderate decrease, the extent of criminality has lately been affected to an ever-increasing degree by a group of perpetrators whose motivation for breaking the law is their mercenary self-interest, an effort to achieve unjustified material benefits. The damage done by these antisocial acts amounts each year to tens of millions of koruna. To this must be added the damage on the order of hundreds of millions occurring as the result of negligence of workers, including managerial personnel, their irresponsible attitude to their entrusted property, indifference to the interests of the society as a whole, and a failure to comply with the basic obligations attendant to their work. These findings are also important to the further orientation and tasks of legal indoctrination of our citizens.

Efforts at wrongful enrichment are obviously connected with the changes that occurred in our society in the course of the past decades in the sphere of material consumption, where there occurred a significant increase in the buying power and in the standard of living of the working public. An absolute majority of our citizens work honestly and the increase in their material and cultural level is commensurate to the amount, quality and social significance of the labor with which they contribute to the development of society. Growth of consumption cannot be limited. Our ideal is not ascetism, because, put with Karl Marx, the objective of communism is a rich man and rich human consumption. Improvements in the standard of living and the attendant increase in needs are then indubitably positive phenomena. However, for some of our citizens, procurement of things, particularly of expensive things, became almost the only basic purpose of life. Recidivism of small-bourgeois psychology, "fetishism of things," and greed affect their scale of life values and leave a negative mark on their attitude to their surroundings, to work, to society. There is nothing wrong with people wanting to have a nicely furnished apartment, a log cabin retreat, an automobile, but it becomes wrong when these and other things per se become for them a symbol of personal prestige. What is involved in such cases is deformation of personality, an effort to demonstrate one's exceptional nature not by one's accomplishments, by one's talents, but just as an owner and consumer of expensive things or objects in short supply. This is very often accompanied by an effort to acquire these expensive or shortage items without delay, in the shortest possible time, ergo without waiting until the requisite financial resources can be accumulated by honest work. It is specifically such efforts for excessive meeting of the material needs of an individual, based on a consumer approach to life, that lead to

striving for enrichment without any inhibitions, without any regard to the manner and sources from which material values were acquired.

The state of criminality shows that even our country is not free of cases where individuals enrich themselves in conflict with the rules of socialist ethics and the socialist merit principle of pay for work. Such people largely abuse their position against the interests of society or their fellow citizens, particularly in connection with some shortages in supplies, trade and services. The public justly criticizes that the property of some citizens or their expensive way of life is in conspicuous disparity with their legal income and material resources. A systematic recourse against such phenomena is in keeping with the policy line expressed at the 16th CPCZ Congress: "The standard of living of every worker should be commensurate to his contribution to the development of society. It is no secret that there are people who live at the expense of society, they are paid wages not for work, but for showing up for work. An uncompromising struggle must be waged against all types of parasitism and conniving."

No less demandingly was this requirement expressed at the 26th CPSU Congress: "...all organizational, financial and legal means must be used to tightly seal all nooks and crannies for hiding parasitism, bribery, speculative conniving, unearned incomes and any looting of socialist property."

The forms which wrongful enrichment takes at the expense of property in socialist ownership, as well as in personal or private ownership, are extremely varied.

There are numerous cases of looting of property in socialist ownership that are perpetrated by persons outside the circle of personnel of the organizations sustaining damages, particularly by burglarizing workshops, stores, restaurants, or by pilfering inadequately guarded things. In an analogous manner, occur commissions of thefts involving personal property through breaking into residences, weekend retreats, automobiles, by picking pockets, etc.

High damage is usually incurred through looting of antiques, historical collections and art objects, robbing of financial institutions, post offices or gas stations.

More than half of the perpetrators of looting of property in socialist ownership involve the damaged socialist enterprise's own personnel. These often abuse their responsible posts to falsify documentation or to loot through administrative manipulations either financial means or entrusted material values, e.g., tools, raw materials, goods, products, semifinished products, construction materials and fuels.

Infractions against economic discipline are committed by socialist organizations' own personnel through generation of so-called black funds. As a rule, they submit bills for unperformed work and unperformed deliveries to obtain means for payment of "black" wages, granting of unauthorized benefits, for bribing, for exaggerated representation and other wrongful improvement of the

financial situation of their organization. This is the same way payment is made of so-called black wages representing an excessive remuneration for work performed or as compensation for work performed not at all or poorly. In other cases, personnel receive unjustified payments of premiums or other such one-time payments and there is wide abuse of agreements regarding work performed in addition to employment. Economic organizations grant their own personnel and even outsiders various unauthorized concessions in employment, provide them with loans that are without interest or not recoverable, inexpensive sojourns abroad, provide free repair of automobiles and other objects from the organization's resources. Such machinations are often participated in by leading managerial personnel who coax their subordinates into going along, which then makes it impossible for them to exact maintenance of economic and work discipline in other cases.

Speculators engage in lucrative deals with items that are in short supply. That also has to do with unauthorized importation and exportation of such goods without payment or short-changing of customs and their sale at speculative prices.

Damage is inflicted relatively frequently on consumers in commerce, catering and other services in regard to price, weight, quality of goods sold and quality of services offered, particularly in sales of vegetables, fruit, meat, and in serving beer and spirits.

Widespread unauthorized enterprising occurs in offering services to the populace. This involves particularly construction, assembly, installation and maintenance work performed as self-employed tradesmen. Many enterprising individuals misuse their working time for performing such gainful activities. In these activities, they often commit even looting or unauthorized use of objects from property in socialist ownership, such as materials, tools, instruments, automobiles, tractors, excavators, cranes, etc.

Many subsidiary productions are sometimes abused for extensive trading of manpower, unauthorized wage cooperation, for brokerage type deals covering the entire CSSR territory. In such cases, attacks against the economic system overlap with criminal acts against economic discipline, bribery, looting and abusing the authority of public officials.

There is a considerable social problem of corruption and bribery connected with procurement of illegal profits. The classical form is offering a bribe with the objective of obtaining for oneself an unauthorized personal benefit. Bribery often affects, e.g., the activities of state administrative organs in connection with allocation of apartments or granting of construction permits; in foreign trade, it is connected with closing of trade agreements with private companies from capitalist countries; in banking, it applies to allocation of foreign exchange for trips abroad; in insurance, it is adjudgment of indemnity; in health care, it is soliciting of preferential treatment, receiving recommendation for spa treatment, certification of incapacity for work, performing special surgical operations, procurement of medicines that are in short supply; in the educational system, it is connected to acceptance to

secondary schools and institutions of higher learning; in culture, it applies to decisionmaking regarding booking of engagements, determining the level of compensation and judging the value of works of art; in services and trade, it applies to procurement of goods or services in short supply or in acceptance of applicants for certain desirable jobs.

However, in the past several years bribery is becoming an accompanying phenomenon of the lack of economic discipline. Offering of bribes in such cases involves an effort to obtain unauthorized favor or benefits for a socialist organization, a locality or a sector, and the bribe is usually drawn illegally from property in socialist ownership. As a rule, this type of bribery is connected to shortages in the national industrial distribution system and in supply-demand relations. It is used primarily for procurement of materials with limited availability or products, financial resources, manpower, or it is designed to preclude application of penalties against an organization.

Corruption and bribery leads to very serious negative consequences for the social and legal awareness of citizens. In state administration or in the system of justice, bribery saps the trust of the citizens in the objectivity and justice shown by organs of the socialist state in making decisions about the legal rights of citizens.

Bribery in the economy produces, first of all, direct damage to property in socialist ownership by its illegal transfer into the hands of individuals, and it moreover deforms the effects of economic instruments, particularly in the area of wages, detrimentally affects the system of planned management of the national economy, because it creates between socialist organizations new, illegal, deformed relations, introduces into the supply-demand relations between enterprises unhealthy elements alien to socialism, elements which are in deep conflict with the interests of the society as a whole.

In services and in trade, irresponsible personnel abuse the imbalance in production of some types of consumer goods and the demands of the populace, shortage of capacities for providing some services and shortages in the national industrial distribution system and often exact material benefits for merely providing the requested performance or service. This gradually creates among the public the conviction that if a citizen wants to obtain goods or services there is nothing else he can do but offer a bribe. It is a deformed concept which negates the socialist principle of rewarding according to quality, amount and social significance of labor and has serious negative, moral, political and economic consequences.

Efforts at acquiring unjustified incomes and self-enrichment at the expense of the society and of fellow citizens become manifested in many forms. The law takes recourse against them as antisocial acts of a varying degree of gravity and all of them represent gross infractions of the rules of socialist ethics. These surviving anachronisms in attitude to work, to property and to fellow citizens are anchored in the minds of some people and, moreover, they are being constantly revived by effects from the capitalist world. It involves the vital interests of a small owner whose approach to life is expressed by the thought:

"Just as long as I can rip off for myself as much as I can--and after me the deluge." To this must be added shortcomings in the functioning of the socialist society that were pointed out by Yuriy Andropov in an article appearing in this year's third issue of the periodical KOMMUNIST: "The CPSU constantly sees to it that the principle of socialist distribution, discovered by Karl Marx, is applied everywhere and systematically, that it is applied better and more fully in practice. If it is transgressed against, it leads to incomes other than for work, there appear transients, absentee workers, shirkers and producers of rejects who actually are becoming parasites preying on society and living at the expense of the majority of conscientious workers. That is an inadmissible phenomenon, a form of parasitism on the humane features of our system. The living standard of each citizen must be determined by work and work only, its true results, not someone's subjective wish or goodwill."

In the 35 years of building a socialist society, we found out that formation of a socialist legal awareness is a complex, difficult process which is far from being automatic. Honest people, the absolute majority of our fellow citizens, ask by right the question as to what approaches could accelerate this process. The opinion frequently heard in this context is that looters, thieves, parasites, all those who live at the expense of society must receive more and stricter punishment. Implementation of demands on discipline and socialist legality is unthinkable without coercion. "Such a task cannot be accomplished without coercion," says Lenin. "We need the state, we need coercion."

Dealing with negative antisocial acts through constant meting out of stricter punishments is an overly simplistic approach. History has confirmed many a time that social problems were not solved even by the cruelest of repression. On the contrary, if the punishment meted out is out of proportion to the gravity of the act committed, its effects on the moral state of society are rather on the negative side. This was expressed by Karl Marx' thought that "harshness without differentiation negates all the results of punishment, because it negates punishment as the result of law...."

The purpose of punishment according to our law is to protect society against perpetrators of criminal acts, prevent them from continued criminal conduct and educate them to lead the orderly life of the working people and thus provide good examples for other members of society. People who come before a court and are meted out punishment are far from being alike. In addition to perpetrators of serious criminal offenses--which bear witness of their sharply defined antisocial attitudes--there also appear in front of the court perpetrators of less serious offenses who up to the given time led the orderly life of working people. There can be no doubt that differentiation must be made in meting out punishment according to the nature of the committed act, of the threat it poses to society and the personal status of the perpetrator as well as the potential for his rehabilitation. Systematic individualization of criminal responsibility is, therefore, of considerable importance.

Nevertheless, any abstract humanism which makes uncalled-for allowances for individuals who flagrantly and ruthlessly transgress against our legal system, causing through their acts damage to the interests of socialist society that

are protected by law, is alien to our criminal legislature. How else than by strict sentences of imprisonment are we to react to instances of widespread looting of property in socialist ownership connected with damages amounting to several Kcs 100,000 whose perpetrators were leading officials of socialist organizations who abused their responsible positions to commit criminal acts? After all, failure to use in such, luckily isolated, cases all the possibilities for hard repression offered by criminal law would be tantamount to unwarranted laggardness in protection of the interests of the society as a whole. There is no need to belabor the fact that the higher the post held by the person who violated the law, the more harmful are the effects of its example on his work environment, his coworkers and on the entire public.

Even in our socialist society there are still individuals who systematically avoid regular work and procure their means for sustenance through criminal activity. This involves largely recidivists who make their living primarily by transgressions against property. Vigorous prosecution of such antisocial elements is accepted by our public with satisfaction. But there is justification in asking the question whether the stipulated criminal sentences are always used to an adequate degree and if the interest of better protection of the society does not call for meting out stricter punishment, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, introducing further restrictions against recidivists and antisocial elements, with the objective of subjecting them to more systematic control, of forcing them to perform regular work and of making it impossible for them to continue their antisocial way of life.

The requirement for holding persons who have committed serious crimes and recidivists strictly responsible according to the law is in absolute harmony with the legal awareness of socialist society. It is not admissible to show even the least amount of leniency to those who flagrantly or repeatedly violate the socialist legal order.

Of course, among those coming into conflict with the law are also persons whose act is merely an isolated deviation from an otherwise orderly life of a working citizen. Against these the organs of socialist state must apply their rehabilitative potential to a greater extent. As a rule, the very fact of criminal prosecution having taken place is in the case of such persons in and of itself the basic prerequisite for their rehabilitation. In the interest of a more effective differentiation among those who transgress against the law, it might be worth considering the introduction of additional types of punishments, primarily those that are not connected with imprisonment, but which effectively coerce the sentenced person to perform work beneficial to society. It is in this context, too, that consideration should be given to the problem of whether less serious cases involving antisocial activities that do not call for imprisonment should still be handled by courts, when rehabilitation of such a transgressor could be achieved by other measures, mainly through state organs that are closer to his workplace or residence than the court.

In all cases where motivation for committing an antisocial act was greed, it is important that the transgressor be deprived of any material benefit from such an act. In serious cases, the law allows impounding of all or part of one's property or even imposing very considerable fines. Imposition of such



penalties makes a significant contribution to reinforcing social awareness to realize that nobody must ever profit from commission of antisocial activities and that nobody must ever enrich himself at the expense of society.

Our socialist rule of law provides, on the whole, effective protection for all significant social relations. However, any law is operative only when it is systematically obeyed, if everyone who violates the law will inevitably be faced with the responsibility stipulated for such a violation. Only thus can full meaning be given to the requirement expressed as early as 1901 by V. I. Lenin: "Of importance is not the fact that a heavy sentence be meted out for a punishable act, but that no punishable act go undetected."

Therefore, a special responsibility in the struggle against antisocial acts accrues to the organs of State Security, public prosecutors and courts whose mission is to enforce compliance with the law and protect the interests of society and of the citizenry against all attempts at violating it. Truly effective results in enforcing compliance with the law can be achieved only when these state organs proceed systematically, resolutely and in strict compliance with the law against all those who violate the law, if they combine in their activities professional knowledge with civic courage, incorruptibility and justice. The work of these organs is still not free of shortcomings. Some antisocial acts remain undetected and some perpetrators may thus have the chance to escape responsibility for a prolonged period, commit a greater number of attacks and cause considerable damage. Prosecution does not always proceed with sufficient speed and adequacy, does not manage to uncover all criminal activity and all the causes and conditions of antisocial activities and take measures toward their elimination. This is often also accompanied by a low level of legal awareness of many citizens which negatively affects the work of organs administering criminal proceedings. Therefore, it is important that courts, organs of public prosecution and of State Security systematically see to it that every infraction of the law be expediently detected and that the culprits be held responsible.

Success in the struggle against all forms of antisocial acts depends on the contribution provided by the public. An active attitude of the citizen of a socialist state toward life and an effort to eliminate from the life of society everything that is preventing people from working in peace and enjoy the fruits of their labor, play a decisive role in fighting all antisocial manifestations. Thus, it is important to use such means as keeping the citizenry systematically informed of the state of legality and about dealing with specific cases, or conducting procedures in the locality of residence or place of work. Deserving of attention is Lenin's demand that cases of law violations "...not remain an internal affair of various institutions, but that they be condemned publicly... that such matters be discussed in public to refute the general opinion that the culprits will escape punishment anyway." That opinion is not exceptional even among our citizens who from the daily press learn of commission of a criminal act. As the communication media do not usually carry a report about sentencing of the culprits, the public is under the opinion that they were not punished. Court proceedings include daily many matters whose publication would reinforce the conviction of the public that violators of the law, regardless of their position, do not escape just punishment. For that reason, it is desirable that

reports about sentencing, particularly for crimes against property, contain not just the initials, but the full names of the sentenced. This is not prevented by any provision of the law, because sentence is always imposed in public.

One of the symptoms of increasing socialist legal awareness is the active conduct of citizens against antisocial phenomena in their surroundings. Pointing out looting of property in socialist ownership, acting against extorting of bribes, against a parasite, taking a position in defense of the law often calls for a considerable amount of civic courage not only by rank-and-file citizens, but also by party and trade union officials, representatives of national committees, responsible managerial personnel. And yet the only approach to precluding antisocial acts is refusal to tolerate in everyday life, at one's residence or place of work any manifestations of greed, any effort to just keep taking from society, with indifference and irresponsibility toward social interests. It is a known fact that looting of materials, tools and other objects is occurring in many economic organizations right under the eyes of coworkers, with the knowledge of foremen or guards. Most of the detected cases of looting of property in socialist ownership point out shortcomings in administration and inventory of national property in the damaged organizations. Posts connected with material responsibility are repeatedly left open for accepting personnel with prior sentences for crimes against property and who are still precluded by probation from performing such activities. There are economic organizations where responsible officials do not demand restitution of damages from workers who caused them by gross negligence and irresponsible attitude to meeting their obligations. Damage caused by lack of economy, waste and looting is written off by some managerial workers as production costs. Compliance with the law should also be the concern of control and inspection organs in economic organizations and superior organs. The results of their activity are often unsatisfactory. They either completely fail to report any detected antisocial activities, or do so late or not fully. The quality of performance of control organs is often adversely affected by sectorial interests, by efforts of leading managerial officials to deal with matters without involving the relevant state organs. That is the key reason for a large majority of criminal activity endangering socialist economy being detected by Public Safety organs themselves.

For essentially the same reasons, multiplied by neighborly relations, organs of national committees, particularly in smaller localities, fail to systematically react to detected cases of pilfering, unauthorized enterprising, speculative conduct and various forms of infractions against the rules of socialist coexistence.

Factual impunity of the most varied antisocial acts stemming from unwarranted systematic regard by responsible officials causes considerable harm. This does not involve just material losses, which are far from being negligible, but also serious moral consequences. Failure to react to negative phenomena and inexcusable passivity by officials lead to citizens' indifference to the interests of the society as a whole and protection of national property. It is by no means a rare phenomenon that those who remain silent to economic crimes taking place before their own eyes and of which they are privy, on the

side criticize disorders in our country. The passive attitude of the public is the cause of the stubborn persistence of manifestations of the psychology of private property and a medium for nourishing the most varied parasitic tendencies.

On the other hand, there are enterprises, unified agricultural cooperatives and communities where mutual high standards and comradely constructive criticism have become the basis for developing an ideologically mature and responsible relation of each citizen to society. Responsible attitude to work, to society, strict maintenance of discipline and meeting of obligations must become the natural thing to do for each citizen of the socialist state.

High-level implementation of order and discipline in socialist society is an extraordinarily difficult and long-term task which, however, is inevitable and indispensable, "...because only after we have solved it in practice, will the last nail be driven into the coffin of capitalist society...." Lenin said at the same time that "...from the moment of the start of the socialist revolution, discipline must be developed on an entirely new basis, the discipline of confidence in organization of workers and of the poorest farmers, comradely discipline, discipline of general respect, discipline of independence and initiative in struggle." It was undoubtedly such discipline that was on the mind of the secretary general of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade Yuriy Andropov when in a meeting with workers of the Ordzhonikidze Machine Building Plant in Moscow he pointed out: "...Without the requisite discipline--work, planning, state--we cannot make rapid progress. Introduction of order truly does not require any investments, but brings tremendous returns." All-round strengthening of discipline, promoting of responsibility for everyday conscientious meeting of work quotas at all places of work and in all localities creates the basic prerequisites for effective prevention of all antisocial acts. To this is added the inevitability of promoting throughout the entire society an uncompromising attitude toward any infraction of discipline and violation of law and mobilizing public opinion in support of those honest workers who defend the interests of society as a whole.

Problems of strengthening social and work discipline and systematic compliance with the socialist system of laws have lately again been dealt with by the highest party and state organs who adopted important resolutions for dealing with them.

In protecting the socialist system of laws, we have the obligation to apply without exceptions the principle that laws apply to everyone and exact legal responsibility against all those who violated the law, without regard to their post or social position.

8204

CSO: 2400/325

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

MIME GROUP REPORTS ON SUCCESSFUL TOUR OF PRC

AU071246 Prague ZEMEDELSE NOVINY in Czech 6 Jul 83 p 4

[CTK report: "Pantomime in Mongolia and China; Successful Tour of the Ensemble of Ladislav Fialka"]

[Text] Prague (CTK)--Monday night the pantomime ensemble of the Prague Theater on the Balustrade returned from a 1-month artistic tour of the Mongolian People's Republic and the PRC.

In the two countries, members of the ensemble gave 10 performances of their program, the backbone of which is the successful "Etudes," known from numerous performances at home.

"In Mongolia we performed within the framework of the Days of CSSR Culture in the Mongolian People's Republic. The performances in both Ulaanbaatar, including the opening gala concert, and in Darhan met with enormous response," national artist Ladislav Fialka told the CTK correspondent after their return. "The interest of the audiences was unusual. Thereafter, we gave five performances in Beijing, Tianjin, and Shanghai, which were also successful. This was all the more surprising as, after last year's visit to Marcel Marceau, this was only the second opportunity for Chinese viewers to get to know European pantomime. We have many unforgettable memories from the visits of the two countries' important cultural sights. I was strongly impressed by my visit to the theater school in Tianjin, which educates a new generation of artists for classical Chinese opera."

CSO: 2400/378

## BRIEFS

CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING--Prague (CTK)--Prague (CTK)--A session of the Czechoslovak People's Party [CSL] Central Committee, which was held in Prague yesterday, discussed the fulfillment of the resolution of the third CSL Congress. The report submitted underscored the share played by party members in the construction of an advanced socialist society in our country. It noted that their activity has contributed to resolving the economic problems of the current period and to improving further our citizens' living conditions. Jaroslav Srb, member of the CSL Central Committee Presidium, devoted his speech to the current international situation. He noted the importance of the recent Prague peace assembly. He voiced his support for the peace initiatives of the USSR and the other socialist countries and condemned the militarist course of the U.S. Government. For the next year the session convened annual party membership meetings and regional and district party conferences. A part of their preparations will be the exchange of party cards. [Text] [AU011058 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 30 Jun 83 p 2]

CSO: 2400/378

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

EAST BERLIN PEACE WORKSHOP, ENVIRONMENTALIST PROTESTS REPORTED

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 5 Jul 83 p 3

[Unattributed article, datelined 'East Berlin, 3 July (Reuter)':  
"Irritating GDR Pacifists"]

[Text] Despite government counterpressure, pacifists in the GDR insist on an independent peace movement in the GDR. An appeal put out for signatures at a "peace workshop" at the Erloeserkirche [Church of the Savior] in East Berlin on Saturday [2 July] states: "We no longer have any confidence in the ability of most ruling politicians and their military strategists to preserve the peace for the peoples, to prevent nuclear confrontation and to recognize and solve both current and future problems of mankind in a way insuring a dignified life for all people."

'No Confidence in Politicians'

The first signatories, including Katja Havemann, the widow of scholar and regime critic Robert Havemann who died in East Berlin in April last year, emphasize at the same time: "No one can take from us our responsibility for our own life and the life of our children. This means that we gain a more conscious way of life, extending to being ready to put up with coercive measures." The GDR pacifists state further: "Without wanting to deny the good will of the politicians in charge, we doubt that their efforts will succeed, for they adhere to a policy of deterrence through weapons and look for the causes of the danger of war only in the other power bloc. We see few signs of a decrease in prejudices in the mutual contacts of statemen of both sides. We support the proposals for disarmament as well as the creation of nuclear-free zones and renouncing the striking of a first nuclear blow but perceive a danger of the militarization of our public life leading to distrust among the public and thus calling one's own will for peace in question." The appeal has been sent to the organizers of the world conference against atomic and hydrogen bombs planned to take place in Tokyo, Hiroshima and Nagasaki in early August as a statement of solidarity.

Booths and Buttons

The peace workshop had been opened Sunday [3 July] morning with a service in the overcrowded Erloeserkirche in the Lichtenberg District of East

Berlin. The sermon had been relayed by loudspeakers to the square in front of the church. At noon 1,000 to 2,000 people had gathered for the event. The organizers, including the Protestant Church of the GDR, were expecting 5,000 to 8,000 people to arrive from all over the GDR.

Individual groups, including "Women for Peace," had put up booths. Readings by GDR writer Stefan Heym and others were scheduled for the afternoon. Among the participants was also the East Berlin youth parson Rainer Eppelmann, author of a Berlin appeal for peace and disarmament. The peace workshop also offered buttons and T-shirts with disarmament slogans. The buttons also included the "swords into plowshares" slogan officially banned in the GDR. Postcards with "nuclear-free zone" imprints and the "swords into plowshares" emblem were given out against donations.

#### GDR Youth Parson Arrested in Halle

According to private information, several persons have been arrested in Halle in connection with the independent peace movement. Youth parson Lothar Rochau is said to be among those arrested. This cleric, widely known in the GDR, is reported to have been relieved of his parish duties by the church a month ago. They say that he had long been actively involved in questions of peace and the environment, working most recently from private apartments. Rochau is also said to have been in touch with the Jena Peace Association. According to these reports, the arrests are also connected with an ecological action in Halle in which about 200 bicyclists wearing masks against pollution of the environment rode through the BUNA Chemical Works in Halle on 5 June.

8790

CSO: 2300/321

SCHOOLCHILDREN'S EDUCATION TO INCLUDE 'ENEMY COGNIZANCE'

East Berlin PAEDAGOGIK in German Vol 38 No 4, pp 286-293[ no date given]

/Article by Siegfried Birkner: "The Knowledge Process to Be Carried As Far as Ethical Standards"/

/Text/ In a ninth grade English lesson, the teacher asked: "How does Dr Inge's attitude to German fascism change?" In the preceding lesson and at home the students had read Wolf's "Professor Mamlock"; they had acquired knowledge of the period in their history lessons, and some students had talked with their parents about the persecution of Jewish physicians in Hitler's Germany. Consequently the teacher's question received several replies. Many students raised their hands and got an opportunity to describe the events of learning process undergone in the course of instruction. The students' answers were sensible and expressed in appropriate phrases. However, I did miss any ethical appraisal and value judgments.

A different response arose on another occasion in the same classroom. The teacher claimed that, at the end of his life, Mamlock began to fight the Nazis because there was no greater crime than not to want to fight when one ought to fight. A student disagreed: "How is Mamlock supposed to fight when he shoots himself?" The teacher skillfully invited opinions, statements for and against on the basis of perceptions and individual reflections: "What would you have done?" Evaluations were forthcoming, knowledge and experiences introduced and consulted for the purpose of establishing moral judgments. The subject matter of the lesson had become personally meaningful. The teacher had aroused interest and addressed sentiments. At the same time I noticed that fewer students participated in the debate. Did the silent majority lack courage for a personal statement linked to a moral judgment? No doubt the valuation touched upon personal political and ethical views and attitudes. However, an open atmosphere in the classroom, a relation of trust between teachers and students and among students permit and produce evaluations and party-like attitudes; students are allowed to ask any question and raise any problem.

In a talk with the teacher we sought for the reasons of the reserve shown by many students: The students in this grade were not yet used to personally evaluate facts, connections and processes and thereby utilize the knowledge acquired. We all agreed that the single-minded direction of the teaching process leading from perception to evaluation offers an important reserve for ideological and ethical education in specialized instruction.



## To Appraisingly Perceive and Perceptively Appraise

Education in the class standpoint and for revolutionary action--that is the most basic of all educational issues.<sup>1</sup> To comprehend the Marxist-Leninist teaching of the class conflict and consciously to participate in the class disputes of our age requires so to conduct the processes of perception in the classroom and the work collective, the Pioneer group and the FDJ academic year, that boys and girls arrive at scholarly understanding by the compulsion of logic. At the same time they must be inspired and enabled independently to appraise events and connections in nature and society, in collective and personal life as well as to draw conclusions for their conscious action and behavior. Sometimes there is even talk of a "compulsion" to independent conclusions and values as a requirement on the senior grades.<sup>2</sup>

In the theory and practice of communist education we start from the assumption that perception and appraisal represent a unit. Cognition and evaluation are not mutually exclusive, they depend on and complement one another. When the process of cognition by instruction is consistently planned and organized, the students are able to appraisingly perceive and perceptively appraise. This view was elaborated and confirmed in the 1970's in educational theory and practice, when we were concerned with the discovery and use of inevitabilities in the educational process of cognition.<sup>3</sup> Our interpretation of the unity of cognition and appraisal is based on a broad concept of perception that includes appraisals as the results of evaluation processes.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand such a classification of appraisal (as a process) and evaluation (as the result of this process) within a broad conceptual definition must not be allowed to blur the specific features of cognition and appraisal, perception and evaluation. USSR and GDR philosophers interpret perception and evaluation as a uniform and, at the same time, inherently differentiated process of the intellectual-practical assumption of reality.<sup>5</sup> And yet, observance of the specific features does not mean separating perception from evaluation as often happens in bourgeois and revisionist conceptions.<sup>6</sup>

Learning may not separate that what is from that what should be. Both must be recognized and evaluated. Cognitive activity such as is proceeding in the course of instruction and extracurricular activities must be guided to party-like appraisal and ethical "quintessence." On the other hand appraisal presumes cognitive activity and itself represents perceptual performance. Evaluating activity enriches the process of perception. Appraisal unconnected with cognitive activity is bound to be ineffective or offer points of attack for the influences of imperialist ideology and ethics. This was already indicated by Lenin in his commentaries on Hegel's interpretations of the relation between the ideals of the true and the good.<sup>7</sup>

It is essential for the pedagogue to safeguard for all ideologically relevant subjects the unity of knowledge and appraisal, perception of the truth and evaluation in the meaning of the progressive and the good. At the same time the students' experiences must be just as much considered and used as the appraisal that includes the offensive dispute with the ideology and politics of the class enemy<sup>8</sup> and also the residues of obsolete ethics in the thoughts and actions of people here. Children and youths can acquire communist morality in its unity of ethical consciousness, ethical relations and ethical behavior only when the unity and specific features of the processes of knowledge and evaluation are understood and made the basis of the planning and organization of educational processes.

Cognition guides students to true statements and statement systems. It encourages the students' certitude of the statements' and statement systems' true value. The verification of truth as the relation between the facts of the matter and the image does not itself represent an appraisal but is definitely its prerequisite.

Appraisal based on perception and experience and inspired by cognition, guides the student to value judgments and challenges party-like attitudes and decisions. This pragmatic function of appraisal and its effect urging toward action is evidently based on empirical and theoretical knowledge and influences earlier perception and future cognition. That is the cognitive function of appraisal.<sup>9</sup>

The appraisal of facts, events and connections amounts to intellectual-practical activity and, as such, is indispensable for the acquisition of the ideology and ethics of the working class. Marxist-Leninist ideology is individualized by way of knowledge and appraisal. In the process of perception that includes appraisal, insights are gained and value judgments shaped, that represent the bases of attitude definitions, the development of convictions and motivation. As ethical convictions, principles and ideals presume values and value judgments, special importance in the pedagogical process lies with the orientation to values. Appraisal is an increasingly necessary condition for the students' absorption of ethics, because it arouses in the appraising student a feeling of the personal meaning of the object involved and therefore gives direction to his behavior and action. "Specific actions--as opposed to others--are emphasized and distinguished as valuable, good, meaningful, and so on. This function is fulfilled by evaluations in connection with standards."<sup>10</sup>

Insights into processes and connections are necessary prerequisites and elements of valuations. Ethical valuations therefore also need preceding and accompanying cognitive performance. Any ethical valuation must be backed by scholarly analysis. That is how we distinguish between scientific socialism and so-called ethical socialism.<sup>11</sup>

Revisionist and neopositivist interpretations in pedagogics, in particular, separate scientific knowledge from valuation. The "roundedness" of the personality is to be achieved without the primacy of the scientific ideology. Bourgeois pedagogy's penchant to politics results in an increased emphasis on education in standards and values based mainly on emotions and irrationality.

#### To Perceive and Value the Essential Unity of Socialism and Peace

Let me demonstrate the connection between perception and valuation in the pedagogical process by a topical assignment of political and ethical education:

Students acquire knowledge of socialism in the course of lessons in various subjects, in educational events organized by the Ernst Thaelmann Pioneer organization and the Free German Youth. In their daily lives they experience that and how socialism needs and creates peace. Knowledge and experiences are so condensed and systematized in the process of cognition, that the basic truth of our age is recognized: Socialism and peace share the same nature. Thanks to wise pedagogical leadership by their teachers, many students couple their perceptions with party-like appraisals. They relate circumstances to their personal interests and wishes and therefrom deduce

value judgments that mobilize them to personal conclusions and decisions. The basic truth that "socialism and peace share the same nature" has turned into firm certainty for these students, because they have appraised the circumstances basic to that statement:

The decree on peace, issued by the young Soviet power, has become the basis of socialist peace policy that has since represented (and still does so) the intellectual and material alternative to imperialism's war politics and mobilizes the forces of peace and progress all over the world. History teaches us that we must strengthen socialism and peace in all their aspects.

Insofar as the inevitability of the unity of socialism and peace is recognized in the process of learning and as class and personal interests are touched upon, the conviction of the inevitable link between socialism and peace is bound to grow, and it is in my interest--in other words necessary and appropriate--to strengthen socialism and peace. "Valuations (in addition to and together with many other expressions of the practical and intellectual knowledge of the world) thus convey the relationship between knowledge and reality (object) on the one hand and of knowledge and action (subject) on the other."<sup>12</sup>

Ethical relations are touched upon in view of the fact that the appraisal of circumstances requires cognition and partisanship as well as justifying instructions for action. Ethical value judgments are needed.

Always, and particularly at the present time, scientific insights in the nature of war and the moral valuation of war and peace exercise a decisive effect on the class-like attitude of young people to the armed defense of the socialist fatherland. The young people of the GDR study the causes of wars and familiarize themselves with the nature of the armed organs. They recognize the political necessity of and legal liability to armed service for the homeland. That, though, is not enough to orient to class-like action and provide a basis for instructions in action. When, in the course of lessons or extracurricular activities, in political conversations between teachers and students, issues regarding war and peace, military affairs and the armed forces are introduced and discussed, the educator may not be satisfied with mere statements of fact, the elucidation of relevances. He must provide notions of value, encourage the students to appraise and evaluate the circumstances from the aspect of class interests (relations of interest) and of standards of communist ethics (ethical relations), thereby guiding them toward their own party-like comments. Scientific knowledge must be coupled with personal experiences such as actions within the scope of the FDJ's peace proclamation, talks with veterans, heroes of the antifascist resistance or members of our armed forces. Of course contradictions and differences of opinion are bound to occur. Problems and issues must be so posed that the students may carry on an ethical appraisal of war, armed force, the military opponent, and so on, and in their value judgments use the classifications "good" and "evil," "just" and "unjust," as well as enable them to answer the question "for whose benefit?" Such judgments are often overlaid with a great deal of emotionalism and promote the motivation of personal actions in preparation of service in the NVA /National People's Army/ or GDR border forces, in the case of girls in the organs of the GDR's civil defense. The defense ethic of young people is thus developed and stabilized.

## To Practice Ethical Appraisal

As objective social conditions and requirements on each member of society affect the students' ethical awareness, their ethical relations and ethical behavior by way of their growing knowledge and concepts of value, great importance must be attributed to ethical values in the learning process (coupled with the observance of its close link with cognition).

By ethical values of the students I understand a process in which the students relate ethical circumstances with class and personal interests on the basis of sound knowledge and individual experiences, and decide for the good, just and decent as well as against the bad, unjust and indecent. If the prerequisites for such a positive decision are lacking, students demonstrate their personal response to ethical circumstances in the form of neutrality (apathy) or even rejection.<sup>13</sup>

In all moral appraisals, ethical classifications must always be used in a definite historic setting and related to the interests of the progressive classes. He who evaluates in the meaning of progress and professes it, is able to act ethically.

The moral appraisal by younger students is still much influenced by the value systems of parents and teachers. Older students and apprentices use more independent judgment by dialectically canceling existing value concepts and systems, actively dealing with contradictions in society, their own collectives and personality development and choosing sides on the basis of the knowledge of values, ideological orientations and ideals.

Lessons, productive work and extracurricular activities in the schools must and can offer far more opportunities for the clarification and defense of ideological and ethical standpoints, using them for ethical perfection. Appraisal must be intensified in the interest of a mobilizing acquisition of ethics and, together with the examination of the truth of statements, it is necessary increasingly and better to operate with such classifications as "good" and "bad," "just" and "unjust," "decent" and "indecent." By this means a purposeful influence will be exerted on the consolidation of the students' class standpoint and on the production of appropriate action in the spirit of communist ethics. It also strengthens self-confidence.

Direct confrontation with an experienced and cunning class enemy calls upon educators to understand the students' ability to judge as a process of offensive tackling of enemy attacks and to help the students remain implacable toward hostile and wrong views.

Respect for the distinguishing features of appraisal<sup>14</sup> in the educational process opens up for us approaches to the preparation for and release of conscious ethical actions and behavior. Moral appraisals are not merely mirror images, do not alone result in value consciousness. Moral appraisal encourages the formation and pronouncement of moral judgments and decisions. Moral appraisal--always closely tied to knowledge and experience--facilitates and motivates action appropriate to conviction. "Education in communist ethics must have the effect that every young person understands as correct, good and just for himself everything that is necessary, correct, good and just for our cause, and that he acts accordingly."<sup>15</sup>

In the development of the educational potentials of appraisal, educational practitioners discern major reserves for communist education in classroom instruction.<sup>16</sup> It is the task of pedagogical sciences more profoundly to penetrate the nature of the appraising perception and the perceptive appraisal and in this field to provide suggestions for educational practice. In the 1960's the Humboldt University in Berlin carried out distinguished preparatory studies in educational theory. Paul Klimpel's studies on the teaching and learning of ethical concepts and on the conduct of moral appraisal in classroom instruction for the lower grades are well known.<sup>17</sup>

As, however, the total process of appraisal was not dealt with, the Berlin pedagogic scholars led by Karlheinz Tomaschewsky extended their studies to the ideological-theoretical and ideological-moral appraisal in the classroom instruction of the senior grades.<sup>18</sup> By now interesting results are to hand, that deserve to be much more widely acknowledged and thoroughly evaluated than has been the case hitherto. Militzer drafted rules for the establishment of educationally relevant conditions of ideological appraisal. The following are listed as rules for the guidance of ideological appraisal, relevant to education:

- "1. Organize ideological appraisal as task accomplishment!
2. From the aspect of the class, the criterion and the ego, guide the students toward ideological identification or distancing!
3. Have the students scientifically and ideologically justify their evaluations!
4. Provide opportunities for positive and negative confirmation by the student collective and yourself supply confirmation!"<sup>19</sup>

I agree with Militzer's approach and his advice to classroom teachers. I do have some reservations with regard to the juxtaposition of affirmation of class and affirmation of value criteria in the representation of the elements of affirmation.<sup>20</sup> Very probably it will be necessary to effect a reconciliation of the nature and forms of value criteria in the field of pedagogy. One thing is quite certain: The class interest of the working class is the only possible criterion of ethical valuation and moral orientation in our age.<sup>21</sup> We must avoid value criteria derived from class interest being increasingly differentiated and so subjective that neutralism or even "understanding" for actions contradicting working class interests may affect the appraisal. I would like to add to Militzer's rules the historic approach to appraisals (both ideological-theoretical and ideological-ethical appraisals). The historic optimism arising from the historic consideration of the facts of the matter by us who are on the side of progress, is extremely effective for the value orientation and the formation of convictions of young people.<sup>22</sup>

The moral appraisal by senior students should include four dimensions:

Study of the truth value of statements, the historic consideration of the ethical circumstances, their classlike review and the connection between the circumstances and personal interests.

A topical example: Questions about the peace movement are the focus of many discussions among young people. In the classroom, in political discussions and by way of

the mass media, they gain the knowledge that the international peace movement is a movement against war, a democratic antiwar movement. So as to stimulate students to arrive at a valuation, teachers and propagandists should discuss with them the following key issues:

-- To what do you trace the true value of the statements on the peace movement?

The truth of the statements must be proved logically and documented by facts of topical and personal relevance. In the course of this process knowledge of facts is acquired or deepened and consolidated: The worldwide peace movement is a decisive and steadily growing force against the imperialist policy of confrontation.

-- How has mankind up to now been able to realize its longing for peace?

To be included in the valuation (whether mental only or presented in the form of verbal statements) are perceptions acquired from the teaching of history: Peace for mankind in the class society has always implied a struggle, called for action and sacrifice against the forces of war.

-- What is the working class attitude to the peace movement?

The evaluation proceeds on the Marxist-Leninist principle: That is ethical, which serves the removal of capitalist exploitation and the construction of the socialist society. The power of the workers and farmers is the consistent implementation of the peace movement's goals. Their power and, therefore, peace for all peoples, must be consolidated by every possible means and defended by force of arms if necessary. At present the working class needs both plows and swords.

-- What is my attitude to the peace movement?

This evaluation includes the natural need for peace that every human being experiences: I, too, want happiness and peace and therefore favor the international peace movement and oppose the imperialist arms policy. Peace appeals are important but not enough. For this reason I am prepared to defend peace and progress--if necessary by force of arms. I will make a personal contribution to the military security of peace.

Some pedagogues object to the call for an ego-related value judgment, and their reservations should not be disregarded. Certainly the teacher may not unduly often raise the challenge to formulate and express ego-relations, and most definitely not if teacher-student relations are in any way disturbed. However, he may not either neglect any opportunity for guiding the process of perception to the point of the evaluation of moral circumstances. Abrupt questions such as "what arises therefrom for your ethical behavior?" or stereotyped demands "what is your judgment?" are little suited to challenge senior students to pronounce genuine moral judgments and honest affirmations. On the other hand, does anybody claim that such a judgment must never be given except at the end of a debate?<sup>23</sup> It must arise from the process of perception, the combative discussion of a moral problem, and must be desired by the students. In the example cited at the beginning, the classroom teacher behaved very wisely: She used one student's critique to call for an evaluation.

Of course the teacher's moral judgment, his properly phrased and persuasive affirmation of the good and the just, also have effects tending to underline the pedagogue's unity of word and deed and to mobilize the student.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. See discussion speech by Kurt Hager at the central school principals' conference, DEUTSCHE LEHRERZEITUNG, No 20/1982, p 32.
2. See Ursula Drews/Elisabeth Fuhrmann: "Questions and Answers on the Organization of a Sound Lesson," PAEDAGOGIK, No 10/1982, p 814.
3. See Helmut Weck, "Two Years of Research on the Improvement of All Students' Intellectual Activism during School Lessons--Where Do We Stand Today?," PAEDAGOGIK, No 1/1983, p 13.
4. See John Erpenbeck, "On the Dialectic of Cognition, Appraisal and Action from the Philosophical and Psychological Aspect," DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FUER PHILOSOPHIE, No 4/1981, p 45.
5. See collective of authors: "Wertauffassungen im Sozialismus" /Value Concepts in Socialism/, Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1980. See also Sieglinde Heppener, "Eighth Conference of the Joint Commission of USSR and GDR Philosophers," ZEITSCHRIFT FUER PHILOSOPHIE, No 4/1979, p 468.
6. See, for example, Wolfgang King/Herbert Mahr, "Critique of Bourgeois Conceptions on the Relation Between Value and Pedagogy in the FRG," VERGLEICHENDE PAEDAGOGIK, No 1/1982, pp 13-25.
7. See V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, Vol 38, Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1964, pp 205-207.
8. See Erich Hahn, "On the Role of the Values of Socialism in the Education in Communist Ethics," DEUTSCHE LEHRERZEITUNG, No 30/1979, p 3.
9. See Franz Loeser, "Ideological Issues of Standard Logics," DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FUER PHILOSOPHIE, No 4/1977, p 433.
10. Erich Hahn, "The Conception of Value as an Element of Bourgeois and Socialist Ideology," DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FUER PHILOSOPHIE, No 9/1978, p 1096.
11. See Grigori Glesermann, "On the Nature and the Social Significance of the Value Concept," collective of authors: "Value Concepts in Socialism," as before, pp 96/97.
12. Erich Hahn, "Topical Philosophical Problems of the Marxist-Leninist Conception of Value," collective of authors: "Value Concepts in Socialism," as before, p 13.

13. See Hans-Georg Mehlhorn/Walter Friedrich: "Kleine Methodik fuer Zirkelleiter" /Brief Methodology for Group Leaders/, VEB Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, Berlin 1978, p 38.
14. According to Giesermann, appraisal amounts less to information than to the realization of significance by the appraiser; appraisal includes more elements of what should be and more intensively orients action; appraisal reveals the interests, standpoints, experiences and needs of the appraiser.
15. Open letter to all pedagogues in the German Democratic Republic, DEUTSCHE LEHRERZEITUNG, No 11/1981, p 3.
16. See Herbert Militzer, "Ideological Appraisal in Classroom Instruction," in Karlheinz Tomaschewsky/Erika Maedicke/Christa Dammschneider/Herbert Militzer/Gerhard Ferchland: "Erziehungswirksame Fuehrung der Schuelertaetigkeiten im Unterricht fuer die Aneignung von Werten der Weltanschauung und Moral der Arbeiterklasse--Monografie der Forschungsergebnisse" /Educationally Effective Guidance of Student Activities in Classroom Instruction for the Acquisition of Working Class Ideological and Ethical Values--Monograph of Research Results/, Humboldt University, Berlin 1980, p 7 (Ormig material).
17. See, among others, Paul Klimpel, "Moral Appraisal in Classroom Instruction," PAEDAGOGIK, No 8/1970, pp 755-767.
18. See Karlheinz Tomaschewsky/Erika Maedicke et al, as before.
19. See Herbert Militzer, "Ideological Appraisal..." as before, p 95.
20. Ibid, pp 32-34.
21. Werner Lange/Ernst Luther, "Ethics of Values in the Class Dispute Between Socialism and Imperialism," DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FUER PHILOSOPHIE, No 8/1977, p 957.
22. See discussion speech by Prof Kurt Hager, as before, p 32.
23. See Edgar Drefenstedt, "Sound Knowledge as One of the Bases of Ethical Education," DEUTSCHE LEHRERZEITUNG, No 28/29/1975, p 5.

11698

CSO: 2300/339



LAW DEAN SAYS ELECTORAL SYSTEM PERFUNCTORY, WITHOUT POPULAR INPUT

Budapest ELET ES IRODALOM in Hungarian 1 Jul 83 p 7

[Interview with Peter Schmidt, dean of the Government and Jurisprudence Faculty of the Lorant Oetvoes University in Budapest, by Sandor Friderkusz; date and place not given]

[Text] Regarding the development of socialist democracy, the subject of the relationship between the role of the representative organs and their significance is often debated. The theory emphasizes the leading role of the representative organs. However, there are many interpretations of this subject. For instance, there are those who consider the subordinate role of the representative organs in the state administration as a necessary prerequisite of the socialist political system. Others emphasize that elections are the vestiges of bourgeois mentality which we should do away with as soon as possible. But now and again the view is expressed that elections should be retained for international political reasons: for the sake of show. Thus there are various opinions about the means and method by which the electoral system should be changed. We asked Dr Peter Schmidt, scholar of political law and dean of the Government and Jurisprudence Faculty of the Lorant Oetvoes University, about the likely changes in the electoral and representational system.

[Question] According to recent official reports the Hungarian electorate more and more considers the elections to be a mere formality. Of late, several political and social organizations have begun to examine the subject of Hungarian elections. Is there a problem with our present electoral system?

[Answer] I would not formulate it so sharply. If for no other reason than the fact that our electoral system at one time, in 1949, was the only presentation of a popular front slate which was considered a real political demonstration. It was in no way a formality because it served a genuine political function. True, the person who went to vote at the time knew

that he was just demonstrating support and that he was not choosing a representative. He was supporting or not supporting a political organization and its political platform. At the time this had great importance.

[Question] But 30 years have passed since 1949, and when based on past experience I ask whether there is anything wrong with our electoral system, I am thinking about the present.

[Answer] This is what I wanted to get at. What happened after 1949 was that gradually the political content behind the organizational form disappeared. Because in 1949 the voter, whether verbalized or not, had to decide whether he wanted socialism and a social system which nationalized the means of production or not. By the mid-1950's the problems and the contradictions had become much more complex. The people were beyond asking the question of whether they wanted capitalism or socialism. Rather, they debated about whether the leadership style was satisfactory or not or they asked whether the divergent viewpoints should find expression or not. Or they asked what the aim of the agricultural policy should be, or whether it was good or not that Hungary was a country of heavy industry etc. At the time, the slogan "vote for the popular front" had come to mean very little and from here on in not only the perfunctoriness of the elections increased but also the perfunctoriness of the representation.

[Question] Of course socialist theory during this time emphasized the special role of the representative organs. At the same time we can notice the growing unimportance of the national assembly and the representational organizations of the socialist one party system policy in practice.

[Answer] Similarly, we can also note the increasing unimportance of electoral policy. In other areas one can experience the reduced importance of the representative organs within the state administration. The task of the representatives is always to mediate between the given state apparatus and the given society. It should transmit the views of society about the state's work, and its view about the state's performance of its duty of discharging its political power. If the representative bodies can perform these duties, then it has political weight. If it cannot it becomes politically impotent and in such a case the decisionmaking powers of the state apparatus increases in all areas. Unfortunately, this is our situation today. Our representational bodies are not able to give voice to the ongoing debates, views and divergent interests within society. Nothing of what the people believe, think or profess is depicted by the representation. If it is voiced then it is done not publicly but behind closed doors.

[Question] Nowadays, one can even read in the press such things that some 30 modifying amendments were voiced during a debate by a permanent committee to a certain proposed law. It is true however that the details about who, in whose name and what interests they were representing are not made clear.

[Answer] Thus this representation, even if it does express the differing opinions of society, does not do it publicly. As a result the public cannot keep check on whether the debates are a mere formality or whether they are real.

[Question] Finally, how well can today's Hungarian representative system express the differences between various interests?

[Answer] The basic question of socialist representation is that differences in interests and opinion are expressed in an integrated way. Today these can be formulated in this way, that some of them get into the general assembly by their own normal means and partially by way of existing political and social organizations. To give one or two examples: A multitude of interests are encountered within the National Council of Producer Cooperatives (TOT). A crystallized variation of these should be "taken into the general assembly." It would seem that there would be a place in parliament for differences of opinion represented by the trade unions. Today the basic problems are not expressed according to the differences arising from locales but in the contradictions between the different strata employment branches.

[Question] According to this, what actual interests should be more concretely represented or asserted in the GA?

[Answer] The views which exist in society today are not an academic but a political question. At most, one can feel out certain differing social views. To get back to my previous example of what kind of interests the TOT expresses. Especially agrarian interests. Thus this should be taken into the parliament by way of the TOT. It is also well known that to a certain extent the trade unions also express differing interests. These would also have a place in the GA. But it is also a question of how well the nationality association can express differing interests here. Is it necessary for the nationality representatives to sit there in the benches of the Honorable House? I think they should.

[Question] But then representatives of these organizations, associations still sit on the benches of the Honorable House, maybe not by this title but by having been "elected" in one of the electoral districts.

[Answer] However, this is not at all irrelevant. In the previously mentioned examples the incentive of the representative is very different. The president of the producer cooperative thinks quite differently if he receives his mandate from Kiskunlachaz or again differently if he gets into the GA by way of the TOT.

[Question] Is this not simply a matter of form? I do not think that he can deny his past producer coop presidency even if he is entrusted primarily with serving the interests of Kiskunlachaz.

[Answer] Of course not--but this is quite a different situation. In this situation the TSZ (producer cooperative) president has a dual responsibility. One is to satisfy the Kiskunlachaz constituency and at the same time to represent the interests of the Megye producer cooperatives. And at times this can produce quite a schizophrenic situation.

[Question] According to you, how will the citizens' electoral responsibilities increase as a result of the upcoming reforms? How will they increase those of the citizen who over the years has become accustomed to not going to the election meetings or perhaps is only used to showing up on a certain day at the designated voting place to automatically cast his ballot.

[Answer] As soon as it is reality, those questions which directly affect the people will be discussed in the general assembly. The people consider important who they send there as their "ambassador." Today we could move ahead only if the current principle of locale in representing the local interests were upheld. These, however, would be confronted by the interests represented by other organizations.

[Question] What were the possible solutions that the debates concentrated on during the preparation of the reform?

[Answer] Most people are debating about the means by which the differing interests expressed by the social bodies and associations can gain entrance into the parliament. Most debators do, nevertheless, agree that these interests must gain a voice. The simplest proposal was that the Szot be able to send 10, 15, 20 representatives to the general assembly. The voting citizens of a locale would have nothing to do with their election. According to another concept, a system should be worked out within the trade unions, the TOT and within other social and political organizations which to a certain extent would be different from the present one and the form of which would be worked out by the given social organization. The third possibility is the one which would be the most favorable in giving a voice to the citizen and the one coming closest to offering a national platform. For instance, the trade union or the TOT--to stay with the same example--would register their representatives and then present the list to the citizens who would bravely strike out those they did not trust very much. One thing for certain cannot be done in the future, and that is to treat the branch strata interests represented by the social organizations as a side issue.

[Question] The debate about the electoral system and the consideration of the concepts, possibilities and alternative resolutions has taken place as if they were seven stamped secrets. If the political organs, social organizations put the reform of the subject of the electoral system on the agenda then the press, radio and TV would, at most, report on this with one or two sentences in the news. Why do you think the people should not be informed about the details of the debate?

[Answer] I don't know. No interest can be tied to this. I would have given much more public exposure to this debate because a crystallized resolution of this or any other issue can be presented and accepted by the people much more easily if they too have a say in the debate or at least have been informed if they had heard about the details. Moreover, the differences in interests would have their own character, namely that they had not been resolved by way of an order.

CSO: 2500/362

## HUNGARY

### BRIEFS

COOPERATION PLAN WITH ROMANIA--A cooperation plan has been signed by Dr Laszlo Sandor, head of the Main Department of International Relations of the Ministry of Health, and Paul Stelea, foreign affairs director of the Romanian Ministry of Health. The plan, which was drawn up on the basis of the health agreement between the two countries, envisions that the two sides cooperate in 1983-85 with regard to general issues of medical science and health affairs and medical care. During its 5-day visit to Hungary, the delegation was received by Minister of Health Dr Emil Schultheisz. The delegation departed from Budapest on Friday. [Text] [AU211738 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 16 Jul 83 p 4]

CSO: 2500/361

## PROVINCIAL TRADE UNION DEVELOPMENTS REPORTED

## Union Activities Resumed

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 13 Jun 83 p 3

/Text/ In Ryn, of the Suwalskie Voivodship, after a several-month-long break in trade union activities, the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union of the Pokoj Electrotechnical Cooperative for Disabled Persons was first to come into being. I was elected, in addition to four other workers, to the five-person management body. Also I work at the production line and have been sharing with my team the ups and downs for 11 years. Consequently, I consider my election to the chairmanship of our trade union management, entrusting me with an exceptionally responsible function, as an important sign of confidence from people with whom I collaborate.

Just 2 months of trade union activity already show how necessary the trade union was for the team's work. In this short span of time we handled a great many human concerns. We granted financial aid to single mothers for raising their children, paid all statutory benefits. Our inquiry to the city and parish administrator regarding the improvement of housing situation of the three trade union's members was handled in a positive manner. They will move into their apartments no further back than this year. The trade union management interfered in a conflict about unjust shares of the silver coins with the papal effigy and had then distributed by lot.

Our cooperative with 114 workers is a small-sized workplace and the majority of the workers belong to the trade union. We hope that those who hesitate and are distrustful will become much fewer. We should like that all teamwork be like a cooperative family. Such integration is necessary to pull together and reconcile people who work at our cooperative. The chairmanship position of the trade union does not come easily. A lack of experience in trade union work brings about more problems. I endeavor, however, to cope with difficulties to the best of my ability. I listen very carefully to my coworkers' suggestions. I am grateful to those who call my attention to mistakes that I make sometimes. I am pleased when our decisions are met with approval by the workcrew. We oppose attempts at disturbing our work because such attempts, although are not followed

by the workcrew, keep occurring. For us trade unionists, an important fact is that the cooperative's management, while making its decisions, consider very seriously our viewpoints, taking into account trade union demands. The program of our trade union assumes that this trade union defends the interests of the entire workcrew, independently of the membership of respective workers in the trade union organization. This rule we put into practice in everyday activity, believing that by doing so, division in the workcrew will be eliminated completely in a gradual manner. After all, the point is that every trade union member should feel responsible for development of the cooperative and, by the same token, for the creation of better work and life conditions.

Krystyna Stefanowicz, chairwoman, Independent Self-Governing Trade Union of the Pokoj Electrotechnical Cooperative for Disable Persons in Ryn.

#### Workers' Posture in Trade Unions

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 13 Jun 83 p 3

/Interview with Zbigniew Ciechan, PZPR Central Committee member, workplace secretary in Torun's Elana; date and place not specified/

/Question/ Before assuming the functions of the Central Committee member and workplace secretary, you used to work as foreman at the Torun Road and Bridge Construction Department. You have the opinions of an activist who shares a lot of his time with the Elana Synthetic Fibers Mill workers, the biggest workplace in Torun Voivodship, and who listens carefully to their voices. How is the relation of workers towards the party, which is extremely important from the point of view of overall social relations in the country and the outcome of changes that occur within it, being shaped presently?

/Answer/ I will focus on the judgments of the group of workers which most frequently expresses its opinions, creatively influences the environment and simultaneously appears to be the barometer of the workers' moods. This significant group accounts for about 20 percent of the workcrew. The relation of workers towards the party and authorities that is identified with it is, first of all, determined by quality and means of realizing current socioeconomic policy, ability to wield influence on stabilizing life conditions in the country as well as material and intellectual perspectives that the party is capable of securing for the working class. I can assert that the PZPR line, as embodied by the Ninth PZPR Congress, is generally known and approved by workers independently of their party membership. I would like to stress forcefully that motions are constantly confronted with the current practice which generate numerous as well positive as negative remarks. One can observe a significant improvement of the food market; industry has begun to pick up; one can notice the first manifestations of economic recovery as a result of the reform: unemployment did not increase, thus assuring highly-valued work stability; the calm atmosphere which is decidedly viewed as superior in this milieu, became prevalent in the country, a situation that is underlined given the context of the opposition actions and the aggravation of the international situation; repression against those released from internment and who did not engage in antistate activity, did not take place; several laws on reforming and democratizing social life were put into effect--this is, more or less, the context of approved remarks.

/Question/ And what about critical remarks?

/Answer/ Although the common knowledge is that we are not in a position to make a big economic jump and must move forward by small steps, the Ninth Party Congress resolutions assumed, however, quicker progress, yet not all of us accept the point that we implement these resolutions in more difficult conditions than it had been foreseen if only because of Reagan's sanctions. People simply are eager for the end of the crisis. A segment of the party's worker members, for a long time, could not go along with personnel changes within the party that took place after the declaration of martial law. This state of affairs stemmed from the great importance that had been attached to democratic elections as well as from an incomplete understanding of the fact that these elections were held in a period of intraparty political struggle as a consequence of which in some party echelons there were people who had gotten in by chance or whose subsequent activity turned out to be in contradiction with party values. It is still common expectation in the working class milieu to draw final conclusions about all those guilty persons who assumed power in a manner that brought the country to collapse.

This is not "greed for vengeance" but simply people want tangible evidence that justice act equally at every social level and that law be the same for all. In economic matters, criticism centers primarily around three problems: the rise of prices, the still-prevailing imperfect incentive mechanisms, and phenomena that are harshly denounced and which concern emergence of a category of people who grow rich out of the crisis, when the overwhelming majority of society must bear its costs. Attention is drawn to arising negative, anti-incentive attitudes, people go as far as to say that it is not useful to work or to struggle against difficulties in industry, if one can make money much quicker by running a flower stand or selling foreign chewing gum at extremely overvalued prices.

/Question/ These opinions did not go unnoticed, though; their result lies in the new tax system which should put an end to easily made fortunes. How have workers acknowledged this fact and, according to their feelings, have the authorities taken grassroot opinions, on the whole, into consideration?

/Answer/ There were precisely workers who asked for the creation of fair fiscal rules which would determine income commensurate with work output, thus workers consider the implementation of these rules as the realization of their own position. Of decisive importance, however, for workers will be the functioning of this system in practice. How can they assess the impact of their opinions on the authorities' decisions?

As incomparably better than in past, which does not mean, however, that they identify themselves with all decisions. Generally speaking, decisions regarding economic effects, handled from the point of view of a personal material situation, spark much discussion. On the other hand, decisions aimed at political and social stabilization are met with full acceptance. Also, there are opinions in favor of broadening the scope of consultation.

/Question/ Can the working class milieu exercise self-criticism?



/Answer/ I understand the intention of the question: well, workers are able not only to criticize the authorities, but themselves as well. This is even expressed by their relation towards those who, because they are unemployed, make the execution of tasks difficult, and proceeds from a consciousness that the country will not get back on its feet through even the most wise laws, for work is above all the best instrument of the economy. I see how they live down every setback at their workplaces, how they feel responsible for correcting the consequences.

/Question/ To what degree would the assumption that the workers prior to August 1980 and presently, although they are the same, but yet are not the same, be accurate?

/Answer/ In my opinion, this assumption is fully accurate; if I were to point, in shortest way, to the basic difference, I would say that today's workers have more respect for themselves. They acquired a consciousness of their own importance, which was translated into greater interest in public life, courage in formulating opinions and conclusions and, particularly significant, a readiness to sanction their position. This is primarily expressed by a claim in sharing political power. In the past, for instance, in the course of the elections to a national council--which is in the process of being organized in our country--workers used to cast their ballots in favor of managers, arguing that they were better fit for such functions and were more aggressive. Today, more and more the feeling gains in importance among workers that they are in a position to represent their workcrew in representative organs and be a partner to the leadership. Here I would like to add that workers appreciate the fact that the PZPR lived up to its postulate of electing workers to its highest bodies, which, for instance, Solidarity did not take account of.

/Question/ How would you characterize the situation in workers' district party organizations /OOP/?

/Answer/ They have made important strides as far as independence of action is concerned. It is important that the OOP, on the whole, manage to exercise control over the sociopolitical situation in their milieu. More aggressiveness, however, towards workcrews would be of help to the OOP.

/Question/ The drop in worker membership in the PZPR has not been compensated yet. What must be done in order to strengthen their bonds to the party?

/Answer/ First of all, as I have said, it depends upon a socioeconomic policy aimed at pulling out of the crisis and at the development of the country. However, a great responsibility is also borne by workplace organizations and party echelons. We must be conscious that all management decisions, at least as it happens in our country, are understood as being inspired by the party. Whence the importance of the workplace party committee in watching over the correctness of these decisions, in controlling the administration over its assistance to workers as well as in creating an atmosphere in which a worker will be able to speak out fully on his concerns. Also we should realize that presently as party members we are under vigilant scrutiny and evaluation in the workplace, that is why our individual positions take on importance.

During last year's fire in our workplace, a young worker with great determination, helped to extinguish it while getting very close to the fire. Asked afterwards about the reason for his attitude, he replied: "After all, I am party member." One would wish that holding a party membership card would be in accordance with such a relation to life and work. Since December 1981, 36 persons have joined the party, mainly at the turn of 1982/83. Among these new party members I cannot see any who could be suspected of circumstantial motives, and personally I appraise highly the decisions of these people.

/Question/ In summing up, can one risk asserting that workers' confidence in the party and its authority is returning?

/Answer/ It behooves me to repeat what has been stressed already many times: that confidence once lost cannot be easily won back. The times when workers could be satisfied with words and promises are perhaps over forever. Today, the working class milieu places a great amount of emphasis on sanctioning the party's current actions on the ground of what the party says. The more these agree, the narrower the gap between society and its rulers. However, were I allowed to offer a bit of optimism, I would say that the first signs of the aforementioned confidence are perhaps taking shape already.

#### Developments of Federations in Unions

Warsaw EXPRESS WIECZORNY in Polish 13 Jun 83 p 3

/Text/ A new trade union of the steelworkers' is already out of its founding and organizational period. It has been active for half a year. Though a short span of time, this is long enough to discourage or attract workers to its ranks.

#### Workers Have Decided

Last fall, workers began to call more frequently for setting up a new trade union which would represent their interests. These calls were made by branch unions as well as by the former Solidarity union. The M. Nowotko Steelworks in Ostrowiec Swietokrzyski employs 16,000 steelworkers. It is composed of the Old Plant, prewar steelworks and the Metallurgical Plant which was built in the 1970's. The chairman of the new trade union, Kazimierz Siporski, is 33 years old. He used to be involved in an initiative group which called into being the Self-Governing Independent Steelworkers' Trade Union. What were those first days of activity like?

"The creation of our trade union was initiated by a group of 24 steelworkers employed in both workplaces. The representatives of all departments of the workplace joined in organizational activity. The question was to elect genuine social activists to the workplace commission who best knew the workcrew problems, and 'bureaucratic nabobs.' In such a huge factory not all people are versed in this after all, and it happened frequently that simple hacklers joined the trade union authorities," says K. Siporski.

The first days of activity were very hard. The founding group elaborated new statutes and election regulations. On 9 December 1982, the new trade union was

registered in court. Some 84 persons were included in the trade union leadership. A president and two deputies were elected. One of the deputies represents the workers' interests in the Old Plant, the other represents those of the Metallurgical Plant. The deputies are genuine representatives of the workcrew.

#### Not To Destroy But To Unite

Zbigniew Werner has not only been working for 35 years in the steelworks, but his background records the same duration of trade union training as well. He was a steelworker activist, later on activist of the steelworks branch trade unions. Currently, he is workplace management secretary. "We undertook arduous work," says he. "The former activists of branch trade unions and former Solidarity union activists belong to our trade union. But this is a thing of the past. Today, we live a new life, our own."

They joined the trade union and wanted to forget about the past year and a half. They recall the day of 13 December 1981 as a bad dream, when a group of a few dozen persons terrorized the 1,500-strong shift of the Old Plant and by closing down the gates started a senseless occupational strike. It did not work out at all. People, in spite of the agitators' appeals, ran away from the steelworks by all means possible. After a few hours there were, in the area of both workplaces, only two groups of persons: one made of fierce fighters and the other of their victims, unlucky fellows who failed to get away. They ended up understanding that they would not accomplish anything and opened up the gates. Some 9,200 workers belong to the new trade union, that is, 60 percent of the workcrew. I have talked with workers. One of them, from the Metallurgical Plant, has not made up his mind yet to join the new trade union. He says that "the former steelworks trade unions disappointed him and Solidarity deceived him." Now he wants to wait and see what direction will be taken by the new trade union. Another worker says: "One still confuses ideas and facts. The Central Council of Trade Unions does not really fulfill our expectations, but the steelworks trade union," he is referring to our steelworks, "has always worked correctly in handling human matters. Now I joined our new trade union. We need it very much."

#### One Cannot Disappoint People

The M. Nowotko Steelworks trade unionists are self-effacing. They think they have not yet done much. The bulk of the work is behind them. One cannot disappoint people. This is frequently repeated there. It became a symbolic program slogan. What are they doing now? They have worked out and put into effect several new statutory regulations already. One statutory regulation deals with financial aid for those who go on vacation. Those people receive 400 zlotys and their members of their families 250 zlotys out of the trade union's funds. This financial aid is independent of aid that management grants to workers. An innovation on the allnation scale are financial allowance regulations. For every newborn child, each parent--members of the trade union--receives 2,000 zlotys. In the past, the allowance had been granted to one parent only. In the case of a unionist's death, his family receives an allowance in the amount of 3,000 zlotys. Also the new bonus regulations have been introduced. These regulations have been submitted for evaluation to the trade union

and later sent to the steelworks self-government. At one of the last meetings of departmental delegates, the budget for the workplace was approved. Some 2,400,000 zlotys were appropriated for social activity, 700,000 zlotys for sport. The same amount was appropriated for culture and education.

### In Unity Lies our Strength

Edward Krach (M.A. in engineering), deputy chairman of the trade union for the Metallurgical Plant, deals with the formation of a steelworkers' union federation as well.

"We have our branch-related problems, the solution of which goes beyond the possibilities of a single workplace's trade union organization. For instance, collective bargaining, the Charter of Steelworkers, pension rights. We learned recently that a decision depriving steelworkers of their coal allowance is under consideration. We do not agree with it. We met unionists from other steelworks. In the course of this meeting, a postulate about the federalization of our trade unions was put forward." Talks between representatives from different steelworks, including Bierut, Lenin, Katowice, Nowotko have been taking place since February. On 20 May 1983 the federation was registered. Some 90 steelworks' trade unions have joined in already. On 11 June 1983, its first congress was held in Katowice. S. Malanowski, chief of regional party organization in Ostrowiec, talks about the origins of the steelworks' trade union in the following words: "The steelworkers' trade union was formed spontaneously. Workers kept coming to see us and insisting that the party help in its creation. Party and nonparty members were coming over."

### Unification Through Trade Unions

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 13 Jun 83 p 4

/Text/ The 12th Central Committee plenum of the PZPR has submitted important elements to the wellknown party position on trade unions.

The plenum has confirmed that the party invariably favors autonomy for the trade union movement, noninterference in its internal affairs and mutual cooperation for the defense of rights and interests of working people. By the same token, the plenum pointed to the party member's duty to partake in the trade union movement and to tend to its development and its socialist image. Workplace party organizations and echelons cannot keep away from such important a process as the rebirth of trade unions. While not interfering--in the name of a just principle--in their internal affairs, trade unions should be offered help and advice; workplace party organizations cannot doom them to a lonely fight against the underground boycott and the distrust of a portion of the workcrew. With full respect for a trade union's independence and self-government, PZPR members have duty to actively participate in them, to realize the party line.

To command trade unions, to curtail their rights, to impose upon them anything from outside would amount to interference. One cannot repeat these mistakes. Activity inside trade unions does not mean, however, interference, as they are after all, a general and open organization for all working people. Quite to

the contrary, the first duty of a party member is to be where the workers' affairs are decided, where working comrades unite to defend professional workcrew interests and where a struggle is being waged against opponents of new trade unions. It was a good thing that the party spelled out the question clearly. How might it otherwise fulfill its leading role towards the working class if it were not present and sufficiently active in the biggest organization of the working people, the trade union movement? This is one of the basic guarantees of the trade union movement's strength, its unity as well as resistance to renewed attempts to split it undertaken by the antisocialist opposition. Also, regarding this matter, the 12th plenum took an unequivocal position. The trade union movement, despite fears and doubts of a portion of the workforce, exceeded the limits of mass movements.

By their wish, from below, the supplant trade union structures begin to spring up. Everything points to this process developing and taking on different organizational forms, according to the working people's wishes. One thing, above all, is obvious, underlined at the 12th plenum: there will be no return to divisive tactics of the working class into antagonistic sociopolitical forces and organizations. Attempts at infiltrating such concepts, as we have had fresh evidence of it recently, cannot but fail. This chapter of experiences in the trade union movement was closed definitely as the party asserts.

"And the August social accord?" people ask. "And a bill on trade unions which provides that after 1984 more than one trade union may act within a workplace? Does it mean that the party deviates from the letter and spirit of those documents which up till now has approved?"

These findings are false, as the 12th plenum bears witness. The party remains true to the 9th Party Congress line, confirmed by the 10th plenum.

It favors those trade unions which are in agreement with the working people's wishes. One matter, however, is their uncontested right to decide the trade union's membership and its nature, and another to tolerate the breakup of working class unity by the antisocialist opposition. One thing is the possibility of creating, in a workplace, after 1984, a trade union joining, for instance, people of a given profession, whose interests will then be better represented within the joint authorities of an allworkplace organization, and another to create a competitive trade union or one outspokenly hostile to the existing rule of law. We know of those experiences from not-so-remote practices and we do not want to repeat them.

In the socialist regime, the interest of the working class is one, common and undivided. There are neither theoretical nor practical bases for dividing workcrews into antagonistic trade unions. Quite to the contrary, profession-related interests can but efficiently be secured by a united, strong, independent of administration trade union movement.

Diversified in its opinions, organizational forms, but united in acknowledging the superior rights of the nation, regime and state: this is in accordance with claims and aspirations of the majority of working people as well as with the spirit of the August accord and the law on trade unions that came out of it. And the party favors it invariably.

PZPR DEFICIENCIES IN ORGANIZATION, IDEOLOGY ASSESSED

Warsaw NOWE DROGI in Polish No 5, May 83 pp 87-96

[Article by Mirosław Karwat and Włodzimierz Milanowski: "Dilemmas of Building Party Strength"]

[Text] A question concerning the actual status of the party and of the latter's ideological, political and organizational situation is totally justified under the conditions of the initiation of the process of the party's regaining the initiative and of the process of restoring the party's strength and influence. The consolidation of party ranks, and the shaping of its units of ideas (ideological), has begun. These points acquire much meaning when they are viewed as an assessment of emerging tendencies and the guidelines for political thinking and action. However, if they are viewed and publicized as an assessment of the current [party] status, this poses various threats by making invisible to party members or sympathizers the image of complex processes in the area of social practice and awareness, prevents discussion and resolution of differences which still exist in the party ranks after the shocks which were related to the outbreak and dramatic course of the present crisis.

Complacency does not "take care" of anything in the party; it only increases the difficulty of eliminating the discrepancy between so-called appropriate party actions (in the area of organization) and ideological and mass political activities. Progress, proof of which is undoubtedly the report and election campaign, does not give us blanket authorization to pass over in silence the fact that many party members and some conference delegates show passivity or reserve. Only some segments of the party forces participate in a campaign that is at present the most essential for the former: in a struggle for new trade unions and worker self-government, for uniting organizational and political activity with key tasks in the implementation of the economic reform.

We must have a clear definition of issues from which the party cannot run away. We need an in-depth analysis of those factors which during the 1970s brought about the weakening of socialism and which must be overcome, all the more so that they are still active to a greater or lesser degree. Taking as the point of departure the assessment [of the situation] which was made by the Ninth Congress, we have to go farther, especially since the latter--under the influence of the configuration of forces in that phase of political struggle--did not fully define crisis-producing mechanisms in our country.

If, then, in these considerations we point to negative phenomena and mention party successes only in passing in our text, it is not because we look at everything through dark-tinted glasses. Indeed, we believe that showing negative instances and exposing real and potential dangers is a condition for correct reading of the field of the party's tasks. The party does not function only for the purpose of recording and enjoying its successes. Real successes, of course, must be kept in the foreground. But if these successes do not produce facts of social awareness they become something that is illusory. For our party, protection against a repetition of this situation is provided by self-criticism, a peculiar instance of "a burned child dreading the fire."

The party continues to face an extremely difficult task: to regain its influence in the ranks of the worker class, restore uniformity of ideological, political, and organizational (cadre) practice in all its activities, and recreate conditions for mobility and activeness of its basic mass membership. The most vital problems which are closely related to the effects of intraparty activity include strengthening the socialist state not so much by separating and strictly professionalizing its organs as by uniting the state's activity with broadly conceived social activeness (the state is always an instrument of the rule of a specific class and of those social forces which cooperate with it; it must know how--or learn, if it does not know how--to gain support of this class and of those forces, and to organize them for state activity). "An important duty of our party is to do everything for the leading role of the worker class to find confirmation in individual areas of public life, so that it may have real influence on most important decisions which are made at all levels of authority"--we read in a report which was prepared for the PZPR Ninth Congress ("PZPR Ninth Extraordinary Congress: Basic Documents and Materials, Warsaw, 1981, p 27).

### Party's Ideological Situation

The 1970s brought about a serious erosion of the party's ideological identity. Moreover, an attitude of ideological indifference, of regarding ideological and political values merely as a useful instrument for justification of current political actions, and the impact of petty bourgeois values and Solidarity slogans as well as the effects of external actions of imperialism, resulted in revealing those processes which had been initiated in the party much earlier but which reached their apogee during the past decade.

First, there was a process of autonomization of individual areas of party activity. As a result, ideological activity (and, consequently, instructional and propaganda activity) became something that was detached from organizational, sociopolitical, and cadre activities. On the other hand, these areas of party activity were becoming independent of the status and progress of ideological activities. Ideology and political education became something that embellished party reality, something that was necessary because of tradition or because of obligations toward members; but actually, practical activity began to be based on pragmatic and immediate assessments, on finding arguments in favor of actions that had been initiated already, and on partial and insufficient justification of those actions.

A process which clearly goes together with the first process is represented by the absence of ideological discussions and determinations in instances of solutions of a political nature. In other words, party unity, uniformity of party actions and of the attitudes and behavior of party members, were not made sufficiently clear through acceptance of common ideological determinations. As a consequence, political struggles which took place in the party during many years were resolved through removal of individual representatives of various ideological and political currents, as well as through on-the-spot censure for propaganda purposes and...through leaving the matter to oblivion. None of the political and ideological struggles which have taken place in the party since 1948 has been terminated through revelation of the social roots of individual trends and through positive resolution of problems which could be detected in a particular struggle. We mention this fact also because in the present situation of the party it is precisely this practice that has brought about the emergence of antiparty attitudes and opinions (including propagation of "ossified" views which concern social and political conditions that disappeared long ago), as well as the possibility of introducing, under a party label, alien values and slogans (including nationalistic, post-Pilsudski, national democratic, Christian democratic, and social democratic ones).

However, do not these processes, by any chance, reflect a certain real tendency--a tendency to deideologize social life (particularly in its political stratum)? Indeed, it is not only R. Aron, a French anticommunist, that implies that nowadays advanced-civilization societies have no need for an ideology. Under our conditions, this thesis operates, for example, in the form of assertions about "scientific management of social life." This "scientific management," detached from the basic tenets of Marxist-Leninist ideology, makes of ideology an obstacle; rejection of ideology is sometimes regarded (at times subconsciously) as an expression of modernity and as getting rid of a ballast which hampers "rational" action.

It is time to say that many an activist feels, in his or her subconsciousness, that Marxism as a collection of principles and guidelines for "actual" building of socialism is not modern, or is even downright outdated. Some other contributing factors have been the shallowness of presentation, the ritual manner in which instruction is given, a dogmatic approach that is detached from the real world, or even a revisionism that regards Marxism at most as a symbol of tradition and a mark of past stages of development [of society]. In the opinion of many, ideology seems to have ceased to be necessary in the course of the party's practical activity (in the area of education of party members and of the worker class, in the area of programming and assessing state activity, as a determining factor in the assessment of the party cadres, etc.). Whatever remained of ideology in the awareness and work of some activists had already been purged of its revolutionary quality, of its social radicalism, of its deep sense of history as a course of human social practice, and of its concept of the development of an individual as a real objective of activity in many areas. All that combined to weaken and warp the process of translating Marxism-Leninism into a language of true social action.

By eliminating, contrary to our declarations, a large part of ideological values from the operative system of intraparty life and from educational and



instructional practice, we have reached a state in which our theoretical thinking and ideological pronouncements do not provide us with strong arguments and, consequently, we are unable to gain the upper hand in ongoing discussions. This has brought about a situation in which other social ideologies and concepts, which explain reality actively although falsely, are gaining popularity.

Ideological discussion, opposition to values (an entire axiology) which are represented by other trends, constant creation of intellectual and cognitive values which are capable of appealing to people, and having ready answers to their questions, are a necessity for the party. Nonfulfillment of this obligation brings about the dangers of successive losses and defeats. We believe that we should, among other things, promptly initiate an in-depth process of explaining the nature of a socialist state, pointing out the critical importance and current validity of the Marxist theory of development and reformulating a socially operative vision of the nation and of its historical possibilities and obligations. Lack of ideological activities of this kind, and failure to take up the most vital theoretical problems, weakens the party in relation to other political forces and lessens results which are obtained in the ideological struggle, which applies particularly to the young generation.

#### Party's Internal Strength

The basic condition for the party's strength (as well as its internal strength, cohesion of party ranks and party structure and consolidation) is its worker character which is manifested by the domination of workers in the social basis and in party membership, in "anchoring" the party in agglomerations of the working class and in industrial plants, in close ties with the working class--on the one hand, based on the principle of conditional support and, on the other, on the principles of authority, leadership, and the party's leadership character; it is also manifested in mechanisms of the workers' political influence within the party, in the representative character of the composition of echelons and executive bodies, in the existence and growth of a mature worker aktiv, in the influx of workers to the party apparatus, and in subjecting the latter to assessment and control by worker collectives; and, of course, it is also manifested in the actual content of the party's ideology and program.

Actually, there can be many questions concerning this aspect of party reality. We believe that the most vital problems are the following:

--What is the quality of party ranks today?

--What are the manifestations of the activeness of party members and organizations, and what is the level of this activeness?

With regard to the composition of the party, there are also, as we know, partly contradictory opinions. On the one hand, there is the opinion that the exodus from the party after August 1980 resulted in purification of party ranks, in strengthening political and ideological unity, and in an increase in activeness and involvement. On the other hand, attention is drawn to the fact that now fewer workers belong to the party, and that party influence in many areas of life is minimal (due to lack of party members--e.g., in some cultural communities, student communities, among young scientific workers, and also in departments of many industrial plants). The exodus from the party and the weakening

of [party] influence in worker and youth communities are consequences of a policy which was implemented during the past decade. It was a policy which with regard to these two communities was expressed in disregarding them (in rendering them passive) in the area of politics and in replacing serious ideological activity by solemn, bombastic phraseology. We had mass membership drives, but we--as a party--never answered the question: what is the purpose of this membership drive, and for what purpose do we need so many new members? Nor were we able to "manage" this new wealth. There were too few party tasks and duties that would appeal to will and to imagination. [Party] instruction became sterile and not conducive to any deep thinking. Information, shackled with the requirements of "propaganda of success," had no relation to actual life experience (how are we to react to problems which formally do not exist or are of marginal importance?) Thus, it is no wonder that many young party members sought opportunities for action in the Solidarity movement.

And today? Has informal, motivation-oriented work with party members, deliberate utilization of their potential, and proper direction of their activeness, become a strong point in the work of basic organizations and echelons? The *aktiv* is the easiest to work with, to mobilize, to inform, and to entrust tasks to. The other party members, in general, watch from a distance the activity of the apparat, of activists, and of members of the administration. There are already numerous areas in which it is easy to convince those who are convinced and to activize those who are active. But [ordinary] party members are still reached only sporadically, irregularly, which does not provide a sufficient total of inspiration and information.

Let us say also that a sizable percentage of those who have left the party consisted of active people, who were motivated by society's interests, were inclined to act collectively, and enjoyed authority in their communities. At the same time, many passive, nondescript people have remained in the party. There are sizable numbers of them in, among others, communities which serve the mechanisms of government and administration.

All this has an impact on the quality of the party membership and on activeness, mobilization capability, willingness to engage in social actions, and readiness "to stick one's neck out" in a political struggle. There is continued tendency toward a sort of claim-making, formulation of demands which are addressed to "the powers that be," and anticipation that these demands will be met. Party members seldom engage in independent actions among nonparty people, and do not meet their own joint responsibilities for conditions in our country and in their own community. Anticipation of actions by "the powers that be" combines the dependence on administrative methods and with a partial paralysis of the members' own organizational, mass-political, and educational activity.

Of course, the heritage of the past decade is not the only cause of this. In addition to general crisis phenomena, which influence the party's functioning, we should also consider the situation among the worker class, the serious diminution of the latter's social and political awareness, and mistrust of the party as their authentically own social organization which is being blamed for the crisis. We continue to have a lack of organizations which could "supplement" the worker movement and thus create a load-carrying transmission between

the party and the nonparty majority of the worker class. Criticism is being aimed at lack of clarity and of clear explanation of some cadre moves, including also some of the changes in the party authorities after the declaration of martial law. This lends even greater importance to actions which create new trade unions, to creation of conditions for [meaningful] roles and functions of [worker] self-government, to functioning of rank-and-file initiative, and to activity of youth organizations and of social organizations in general.

### Party's Political Strength

The party's political strength is expressed in a close, indissoluble relationship of its characteristics, as follows:

--ability to articulate and justify the social interests of working people, which depends on the class representativeness of a program and of membership as well as on ideological identity and organizational effectiveness;

--ability to formulate a strategy of harmonization of social interests, of working out an arrangement--through their coordination, selection, and subordination to the supreme interests of our entire society--which will assure its integration while interests of the worker class will continue to be given preference;

--ability to win approval for this program, as well as active support for practical actions;

--ability to consistently implement this strategy and program, hence to resolve in a practical manner, social contradictions and problems;

--ability to exert effective influence on the thinking and behavior of basic classes and strata of our society and thus to consolidate our society and nation on the basis of socialism, hence an ability to play the role of an ideological, political, and moral leader--the focus of all political forces;

--ability to neutralize and isolate, and to wage effective struggle against, the enemy--antisocial tendencies and groups;

--ability to exert authority, to administer, as measured by tangible progress.

When we use these criteria in assessing the party's strength under the present conditions, we note two contradictory facts. On the one hand, PZPR became stronger, having come off well in the political struggle of recent years and having warded off an attempted counterrevolutionary political upheaval. Above all, the party defended our system successfully, did not relinquish its authority, and did not depart from the basic ideas of the program which had been approved at the Ninth Congress. It proved itself to be a force which no one could replace in its role of the guarantor of national sovereignty and, at the same time, of the socialist character of our state. The process of "self-purification," influenced by the polarization of attitudes and by their verification in a political struggle, contributed to greater purity and cohesion of the party ranks.

On the other hand, we can see the discrepancy between the tasks and requirements of the new stage [of party growth] and manifestations of political inertia. Restoration of balance often occurs according to the principle of restitution of status quo--"rebirth" not of party dynamics but of its static mechanisms, inherited from the previous stages. As a result, abilities which combine to form party strength are not in sufficient evidence and in a form which would enable them to cope with tasks.

Without applying all of the above-mentioned criteria to our assessment, we will consider only two problems. The party's political strength is limited at present because, among other things, party organizations are not sufficiently active in increasing their influence on the community. This has been caused by many factors--from the negative evolution of methods of work in the 1970s to the isolation and guilt complex which recent years have produced. As a result, some party organizations allowed themselves to be shut in a "ghetto," within the confines of intraparty life, while failing to expand their activities among nonparty people. Today, this continues to affect their ties with communities in which they work and live.

Of great importance to the party's political strength is the fact that its members exert moral and political influence on the behavior of nonparty persons, that they engage in agitation, propaganda, and defense of the party line under most difficult circumstances, under fire of criticism and social demagoguery, that they initiate discussions and carry them on, and that they resolve the most difficult and "bothersome" problems in their places of work and in their groups. Meanwhile, many of us are used to the fact that "the powers that be" carry on the struggle, and that the latter assumes the form of centrally directed campaigns which at times are actually aimed at those communities which are open to us anyway. This is related to a sociopsychological climate which does not favor "expansion" by party activists. To reconcile ourselves to this state of affairs would doom the party to holding an untenable position. There has to be close correlation between the position of the power which governs from above, centrally, and that of the power which governs the force of implantation [of ideas] among workcrews and in communities, the power of the social mandate (social expectations and relationships).

All this was mentioned at the Warsaw conference by the first secretary of PZPR Central Committee: "The report campaign indicated the continued existence of large reserves of not fully activated party energy and militancy. It indicated that their implementing capacity is disproportionate to our resolutions and programs. It also indicated that the effectiveness of party actions, and the party's toughness and, I would even say, aggressiveness in combating all forms of evil, particularly around us, in our closest surroundings, are still insufficient." This is related to a successive problem, a crucial one in our opinion. Inspiration, consultation, and assessment of the performance of state organs and administrative links, are of great importance. However, what we are concerned about is how to be an exponent of the wishes and interests of the main subject--the worker class--in relation to the entire society and state.

Let us say clearly that while, on the one hand, the party as an entity is perceived (and the party itself accepts this fact in its actions which are initiated

by the "apparat") as an extension of the state apparat and as the justifier and implementer of government actions, there are, on the other hand, instances of party members who, "on their private account," deal with the government and the administration not as members of the ruling party and representatives of specific social interests but as "frustrated citizens," duplicating typical complaints that are addressed to the "authorities." In such a scheme of things, the identity of the party as such is obscured. In the already quoted speech, the following statements were made: "...we are communists so as to be a forward detachment which, as it were, moves in the foreground of social awareness. It is necessary to wage a battle for this awareness every day, in every place and in every community, while, at the same time, not succumbing to superficial emotions and going against the current when necessary. The party is only as strong and as effective as a guiding force as each one of its members and, even more so, each one of its activists, when they all act as if the direction of the entire party and of the entire state depended personally on each one of them."

#### Basic Ideological and Political Dilemmas

The party is exposed to many pressures, expectations, and tendencies, and is entangled in contradictions. The circumstances, course, and indirect cost of the continuing struggle and of martial law--all this has contributed to the fact that the party's position is far from uniform in our society's perception. Let us, then, define the consequences of hitherto unresolved problems.

The first dilemma is: On whom are we to rely? On whom are we to rely, in concrete terms, already at present, until the party regains the general confidence and support of the worker class as well as its influence on the majority of intellectual communities? One has to see the danger of spontaneous creation of a "substitute base" in the form of communities which have vested interests in collaborating with the authorities and which are dependent on state administration and party apparat.

This is related to the second dilemma, which is: Is it possible to consolidate the nation without a clear determination of social divisions? Is the classification "Poles in general" and "antisocialist forces" (the latter being presented in categories of foreign-agency, antination and antisystem forces and thus in negative categories) an exhaustive classification and, above all, sufficient to create positive motivations and to make people unite under the leadership of the authorities? Frequently, this image is deemed sufficient for propaganda purposes. Apart from its simplification and its "boomerang" side effects, it is difficult not to note that this is an assessment which stops at the threshold of a Marxist analysis that shows the class-stratum infrastructure and social basis of direct political forces.

The acceptance of a thesis that the past and present political struggle is class-related and requires a consistent assertion that the class character of our society is not merely an outward phenomenon (influence of imperialist agencies, diversionary strategies of the West) and not merely a "historical" one ("survivals," "remnants" of social relations and classes of old society) but also, and perhaps above all, a phenomenon which is rooted immanently in our reality and its contradictions, in the development of a socialist society in Poland. What

is required, among other things, is identification of those social groups (small capitalist strata, petty bourgeois strata, new bourgeois elements--appropriative, profiteering, etc.) which deliberately harm the system of social justice and at the same time provide a basis and facilities for opposition movements. To identify these groups as an "enemy" requires an in-depth assessment including an analysis of the ambiguity of their situation; at the same time, we should avoid dangers of social demagoguery in the form of pseudo-egalitarianism, sectarianism, and dogmatism (a class-related interpretation of bourgeois tendencies is not aided by militant outcries of pseudoleftist factions in the party).

Clear determination of the dividing line in categories of antagonism between working people and bourgeois groups is, of course, also not advisable for pragmatic reasons, these being requirements of the struggle for a relative equilibrium under the conditions of the economic and social crisis and the economic reform. "Tolerance" and "controlled expansion and initiative" of small-business groups is an economic necessity, dictated by our aspirations to improve the living conditions of the population and to utilize and manage reserves in a disorganized system of management. An extreme attitude of egalitarianism and a vision of a "guardian state" represent an obstacle in a consistent economic reform and undermine economic mechanisms.

Sharp definition of the "front line" is also not desirable for reasons of national unity, the policy of accord and the related need for compromise, for creating a wide platform of alliance of various social groups. There are also internal obstacles in the form of lack of uniformity of attitudes in communities and among party members. Indeed, their radicalism is not uniform, the class-and-revolution trend being less represented in the party than "moderate" trends; moreover, the former trend has been parodied by leftist-sectarian slogans.

However, the party's self-definition in these matters is a necessity in the long run, all the more so that "intermediate" groups will not content themselves with their present status but they will certainly want to exert political influence as well and will strive to win dynamic political representation. This would be a "repeat" of processes which were accumulating in the 1970s and which culminated in petty bourgeois extremism after August [1980]. In turn, economically underprivileged groups (including a large percentage of the worker class and of office employee communities) may, for economic and psychological reasons, become a base for egalitarian-leftist extremism.

The above is related to the problem of the party image, since the party must regain its revolutionary character. It cannot evolve in the direction of a party which groups the leadership and management cadre, the latter representing the interests of the bureaucratic-technocratic syndrome (consequently, of state and economic administration). The historical mission of PZPR is to combine the role of the exponent of Polish *raison d'etat* and the governing authority whose responsibility is the state with the role of a revolutionary force; this revolutionary force consciously gives direction to radicalism and to dissatisfaction among working people, reduces the danger of demagoguery and nihilism, and at the same time it initiates a process of reforms as well as social pressures which aim at overcoming the inertia and conservatism of encrusted, bureaucratized institutions. Undoubtedly, these roles are difficult to reconcile;

however, it is possible to reconcile them on condition of authenticity of class-related Marxist-Leninist party orientation, overcoming both colorlessness and eclecticism [of programs]. This dilemma is not purely theoretical but is already manifest in party practice and ideological life, where there are clashes between tendencies toward ideological party purity as well as preservation of [the party's] own identity and, on the one hand, tendencies toward sectarianism and, on the other, tendencies toward a pseudorenewal. The party's identity, however, excludes both dogmatism and sectarianism as well as lack of image. At the present moment, we see great danger in openly revisionist and dogmatic trends (expressed fairly "lucidly" in a portion of political publications), while attaching little importance to "moderately" opportunistic orientations whose form is nebulous and inadequately defined from a class viewpoint. The objective need to strengthen our own socialist state, all the more so that it was directly threatened by counterrevolution, and to mold patriotism through respect for and civic attitude toward this state, do not give us the right to propagate a concept of a state which is neutral from class and ideological viewpoint and which is allegedly impartial and represents a goal in itself. This way of thinking de facto undercuts the roots of a Marxist-Leninist party which, according to this concept, becomes superfluous as a revolutionary force and can be totally replaced by the ruling party.

The party must preserve and reinforce its ideological and class identity if it does not want to be "washed out," to dissolve in society, and to build its base and membership on adherents who are indifferent or lack ideological identity. In its program and its membership composition, the party cannot reconcile contradictory values on the basis of the same principle which it applies in its "external" relations. It must know what distinguishes it and sets it off in the world of values. Views which treat "the world-outlook pluralism of society" and "non-world-outlook character of the state" as an argument in favor of replacing ideological work in the party as well as polemics and theory discussions by inadequate definitions or nondescriptiveness, are misconceptions.

A party which is true to itself is immeasurably more trustworthy than a party which aims to please everyone or avoids controversial issues. The party as an entity is the Left, and it is in this direction that it should influence the state and entire society, utilizing means of struggle and polemic as well as of dialogue and compromise. The party's position will be strengthened in both areas, if it is defined clearly from a class, ideological, and social viewpoint.

9577

CSO: 2600/992

## AUTHOR ANSWERS CRITICISM OF NOWE DROGI ARTICLE

Warsaw NOWE DROGI in Polish No 4, Apr 83 pp 147-151

/Article by Jan Wawrzyniak: "An Answer not Only to 'Letter to the Editor-in-Chief.'" Original article by Wawrzyniak published under the title "Problems of Socialist Democracy, Party Role Discussed" in JPRS 82723, 25 January 1983, No 2100 of this series, pp 62-78. Letter from Wrebiak to NOWE DROGI published under the title "Letter to NOWE DROGI Scores Concept of Socialist Pluralism" in JPRS 83129, 24 March 1983, No 2121 of this series, pp 69-75

/Text My article entitled, "The Dialectic of the Leading Role of the Party and Socialist Democracy" (NOWE DROGI No 9/1982) was met with a response in the form of a "Letter to the Editor-in-Chief" written by T. Wrebiak (NOWE DROGI, No 12/1982) and an article by B. Ponikowski entitled, "Leninism Without Lenin" which appeared in the Wroclaw weekly SPARWY I LUDZIE /PEOPLE AND ISSUES from 9 December 1982).

I had no intention of answering these polemics on the assumption that, after comparing the polemics with my text the reader would decide for himself the merits and shortcomings of both the article and the texts which discuss it. Although, this was perhaps theoretically a valid approach to the matter, it did not, however, withstand a confrontation with practice. In a short period of time, it turned out that many persons developed a decidedly negative opinion about my article solely on the basis of reading one or both of the polemics. Thus, the assumption that every reader of the arguments presented would also turn to their source was highly utopian. And that is regrettable because if such a practice did exist, it is likely that it would effectively discourage polemics with "shadows" and not with actually-existing texts. However, practice proves that every text which appears in the press runs its more or less independent and autonomous course, and this makes "polemics with polemics" necessary, or in other words an attempt at explaining a few misunderstandings, to put it mildly.

In his "Letter," T. Wrebiak writes the following: "The author of the article states that 'socialist pluralism' is supposed to be the exact opposite of political pluralism which functions in capitalist countries, and he is of the opinion that under no circumstances can one identify the mechanism of 'socialist pluralism' with the mechanism of 'free political power play' which exists under capitalism. And why not? I personally (T. Wrebiak) feel that political pluralism, as a system of effecting authority and organization in political life, cannot



do without the rule of 'free power play' even when it is transferred to a socioeconomic base other than capitalism."

This quote captures T. Wrebiak's main objection in regard to my article. However, in spite of what the author of the "Letter" seems to think, the above quote does not formulate an accusation aimed at me that I am trying to introduce into our political system the mechanism of free power play under the guise of "socialist pluralism." On the other hand, what is expressed is the accusation that in my article I use a concept of "socialist pluralism" which does not correspond to the views of T. Wrebiak. Of course, the author of the "Letter" has the full right to make such an accusation and to have his own opinion on the issue of "socialist pluralism." However, the problem lies in that this "personal view" has become such an inseparable part of T. Wrebiak that he is not able to free himself of it even for a moment. And that is probably why further on in his "Letter," he carries on a heated argument with my article in which his concept of "socialist pluralism" all of a sudden becomes an integral part of the article.

Another fragment of the "Letter" also proves this. T. Wrebiak writes that in my opinion the example of Poland demonstrates that without taking into account the problem of "socialist pluralism" in the practical functioning of a state, democracy is incomplete and impaired, which leads to deformity in political life. T. Wrebiak presents this thesis with an air of doubt by asking: "Why does the author limit himself only to an unfounded statement and does not document his thesis, if not with analysis then with at least one concrete example that democracy has been impaired not only by the reasons to which reference is made in the resolutions of the Sixth CC Plenum and the Ninth Congress but also by the lack of a pluralistic component in the Polish model of democracy?"

It is possible that this question would not have been asked if T. Wrebiak had taken notice of what I understand by this pluralism. I write about it as follows: "What I have in mind is a system of political life organization which would, on the one hand, enable various social groups to express honestly their genuine interests and, on the other hand, one which would assure that these interests are taken into account in the making of decisions by the center of authority. It seems that pluralism understood in this way--cooperation between partners among whom the party plays a leading role--is a necessary element of our democracy."

In light of this, is it really so difficult to find examples of actions which are discordant with pluralism? And am I really inventing causes which crippled democracy other than those specified by the Sixth CC Plenum and the Ninth Congress? Why, I should think that everyone agrees with the point of view that one of the causes for the crisis was the functioning of the political system as if though the moral and political unity of society were a fact.

Within this context, I consider pluralism to be one of the methods which leads to the perception of social life as it really is and changing it in the direction which we would like for it to go, and not perceiving it as we would like it to be and leaving it unchanged.

In his "Letter," T. Wrebiak also writes: "It is possible that I am mistaken, however, I am under the impression that if one were to cross out the term 'socialist pluralism' in J. Wawrzyniak's article and replace it with, for example, 'an efficient system of socialist democracy,' a lot of thoughts would not be lost in a cloud of assumptions and guesses and it would also be easier to arrive at their true cognitive value." He states further on: "I feel that whenever a new meaning is given to existing terms (especially those which play an important, so as not to say a key role in a given ideology), it should always be taken into account that the original meaning, therefore the root of this term must have a bearing on the new meaning."

It would seem that these quotes reflect the main reason why T. Wrebiak wrote the "Letter." Simply put, it concerns a word. And according to T. Wrebiak, this word has questionable semantic affinities, therefore it is better not to use it. And it would be possible, in fact, to accept this if it were not for a certain "but." Thus, I fear that eliminating the word "pluralism" from the political dictionary would lead rather quickly to the opinion that differences of interest among various groups of working people and the conflicts which arise among them are simply a pure figment of the imagination. And if this were the case, then decisions would again be made just as quickly in a way as if though moral and political unity reigned indivisibly in our public life. Is it, therefore, worth battling with words especially when they serve in the naming of real phenomena? I would not like to be accused of demagoguery but the infamous case with the word "cybernetics" is trying to squeeze itself under my pen.

And finally the last matter, as far as T. Wrebiak's "Letter" is concerned. Thus, he casts doubt on the view that "pluralism" as a category of political science may be separated and examined apart from the meaning which this term has acquired as a philosophical category. It is difficult to agree with this doubt. The philosophical and political science plane of ponderings are in this case two different planes. The first one answers the question: What is the ontological nature of the world--is it pluralistic, dualistic or monistic? On the other hand, within the framework of the second plane, the mechanisms of the functioning of authority within a state are considered. In addition, these mechanisms may develop within the framework of pluralistic or centralistic rules, irrespective of the decisions reached on the philosophical plane as to the nature of the world.

On the whole, however, I am grateful to T. Wrebiak for his "Letter to the Editor-in-Chief" because he made me aware to a much greater extent than before of the controversial nature of the issue which I raised in my article; he also called attention to the necessity of the highest extent of accuracy in word usage, especially when writing about such controversial problems.

Unfortunately, it is difficult to express words of gratitude to B. Ponikowski for his text entitled, "Leninism Without Lenin." His article can serve as a classic example of the so-called, "setting up of an opponent" in discussion. For B. Ponikowski every method is good as long as it serves this "setting up." What we are dealing with here is a false interpretation of my text, taking quotes out of context, attaching labels, etc.

In order not to be accused of making groundless statements, here are a few examples as written by B. Ponikowski:

"In the concept presented in Wawrzyniak's article, the key to solving the issue of the development of socialist democracy is the separation of the sphere of politics from the sphere of economics as well as acknowledging the principle of pluralism in socialist policies. Such a separation is to be supposedly a 'requirement for the development of a modern economy.' However, we do not find out whether this concerns the capitalist or the socialist economy." So much of B. Ponikowski's quote. And now the quoted sentence (in its entirety) from my article which refers to the above-cited fragment of B. Ponikowski's text. Thus, I wrote about the above-raised issue as follows: "The complete subjection of the economy to politics, i.e. the functioning of the economy on the basis of commands and bans issuing forth from the sphere of politics is not only dysfunctional in relation to the exigencies for the development of a modern economy but it also hinders the proper functioning (i.e. based on axiomatic assumptions of socialist development) of the political sphere."

The reader of B. Ponikowski's article could assume that I am proposing the total separation in the socialist state of the functioning of two spheres: politics and economics. This would be discordant not only with marxism (of which B. Ponikowski accuses me in a different part of my article) but it would also be against common sense. Simply put, this is a postulate which is impossible to implement in a socialist as well as in a capitalist modern state. Thus, I am not proposing anything of the sort but am only writing about certain negative consequences of falling into another extreme--the complete dependence of the economy on politics. These are two totally different things which B. Ponikowski does not wish to see. He also does not wish to see that the entire part of the article, which he discusses, is devoted to the socialist economy and finally that in the quoted sentence, I am writing about the socialist system and no other. However, the quote taken out of context is necessary for B. Ponikowski to nail me with an "argument" which would be impossible to refute. Allegedly, according to the author of the here-quoted polemics, it is impossible to learn from my article whether I am writing about the socialist or the capitalist economy. However, this does not surprise B. Ponikowski. As he states further on, "one accepts here silently the theory of convergence (...)" Thus, with the aid of words unsaid and distortions, B. Ponikowski accomplished his goal--he has labeled me as an advocate of the theory of convergence /konwergencji/. Perhaps only due to absentmindedness, he forgot to add that this is a bourgeois theory.

And perhaps yet another example of B. Ponikowski's polemical "integrity." In referring to my views on the subject of social conflict, he writes: "For Wawrzyniak, the source of these conflicts, in a society which is building socialism, is the improper method of 'harmonizing and classifying' various interests. They do not have a class character. Class conflicts are pushed into the background; they do not play an essential political role. On the other hand, adversaries of the socialist system are only 'diversionists'. Social conflicts are the result of 'unresolved problems inherited from capitalism' and above all the result of 'structural traits immanently connected to the new socioeconomic system.'"

And this is what I wrote on this subject in my article:

"In socialist societies as well, proper attention should be given to social conflicts which may result from either unresolved problems inherited from capitalism or from structural traits immanently connected to the new socioeconomic system. One of the traits of the characteristic social conflicts which have developed on the soil of the socialist system is their nonantagonistic character. This indicates that the socialist system creates objective conditions for the solution of these problems on the road to compromise and understanding. Basically, this is impossible in view of the conflicts 'inherited' from the capitalist system or conflicts of a counterrevolutionary nature. If the source of the conflicts are interests of a socialist nature, then they can and should be solved on the way to compromise and understanding."

Is it really possible to draw from this fragment of my article the conclusions presented above by B. Ponikowski? It seems that this is a rhetorical question.

However, I would like to make one more remark of a more general nature. Thus, in polemizing with my proposals, B. Ponikowski does this solely from the standpoint of a faithful interpreter of the thoughts of V. I. Lenin. However, at the same time everything that he is able to propose in connection with the need for the development of socialist democracy is nothing more than the repetition over and over again of a kind of cant that the only gage of the development of socialist democracy is the participation of the working class and its class allies in governing the state, the expansion and solidifying the political activeness of the working masses, the responsibility of the masses for the state, etc. I am very well aware of this, comrade B. Ponikowski, I as well as probably all those who concern themselves even a little with the problematical matter of the development of socialist democracy. However, the problem begins when we try to answer the question, How to accomplish these goals? My proposals (undoubtedly imperfect, incomplete and controversial) are an attempt at answering this question. And if my article had been conscientiously interpreted then it would have been most certainly understood not as an attempt at defying the leninist concept of democracy but at the most, as an attempt at solidifying it under the complex conditions of today's Poland. Unfortunately, to use the most delicate terminology, the polemics entitled "Leninism Without Lenin" is more an example of free Americanism /wolnoamerykanki/ than that of an honest discussion. At the same time, he showers abuses at the person whom he, B. Ponikowski, supposedly holds in such high esteem--V. I. Lenin who was noted for his honest art of polemizing. Perhaps, in that case the title, "Leninism Without Lenin" is just but only in reference to B. Ponikowski's text.

9853

CSO: 2600/892

ACTIVITIES OF KOSOVO EX-LEADER BAKALI RECOUNTED

Belgrade ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian No 1275, 12 Apr 83 pp 18-19

[Article by Stevan Zec: "Sta To Pali Mahmut Bakali"]

[Text] Two years ago, the former president of the Regional Communist Party Committee was, for the last time, warned for his lack of vigilance against counter-revolution. By his behavior he did not keep his promise to, contribute to the conciliation in Kosovo.

Attention of the Yugoslav public was attracted by the news from Pec, that Muhamet Mulhadja was expelled from the Community LC Committee and that he immediately thereafter resigned his position as a mayor. It was stated that Muhamet Mulhadja, because of his "indecent and unbecoming" behavior, cannot continue to be the first citizen of Pec.

More weight was given and considerable significance added to those reports from Pec a few days later, with the announcement in Janjug from the Presidency of the LC Community Committee, that an investigative group has been established, to summarily examine the political behavior of Mahmut Bakali during the last 2 years.

About the same time, Adem Gorani, the community public prosecutor's deputy in Pec, announced that criminal charges had been brought against five poachers, apprehended in Rugovski kanyon, among whom also was Mahmut Bakali, advisor to the Pristina Regional Association for Science who until counter-revolutionary events, was for 10 years the president of the Kosovo LC Regional Committee.

The incidents which caused the LC Community Committee in Pristina, to take this action reported by TANJUG, began on Friday, 18 February 1983.

That day, using his personal influence, Muhamet Mulhadja, mayor of Pec, tried to resolve the housing problem of one young married couple (of Serbian nationality), and he succeeded. Money was found in two work organizations in which husband and wife are employed, and by pooling these resources the problem of their apartment was solved. Surely that was the motive for the mayor and managers of both work organizations, that had agreed to pool the

money, and certainly the happy tenant, to "water down" the successfully concluded business. They sipped drinks that afternoon in a bar called Shinobus, and at dusk later made their way to the hotel Karagac to listen to a band.

At around 8 pm, in the men's room, next to the hotel's reception, the tipsy mayor inexplicably assaulted the young man, for whom he had tried all day to find an apartment. An incident ensued, and by coincidence two policemen were present. If Muhamet Mulhadja were not a mayor, probably everything would have ended in a justice of the peace's office. However, to keep all of it in a small circle, friends hustled the mayor into a car and drove him home.

Until 9 pm that evening, guests had been crowding into the small lobby of the hotel Karagac. At about the same time Mahmut Bakali also entered the lobby. There was applause. Almost everybody stood up and greeted the former president of Kosovo's LC Regional Committee. Bakali responded by nodding, shook some hands, and kissed old friends. At that time the lobby was ethnically pure, since only two or three guests were not Albanians. The band played Albanian melodies.

At around 9:30 pm, mayor Muhamet Mulhadja charged into this warm atmosphere. He approached the table where Mahmut Bakali was seated. They greet each other intimately, and their hugging and kissing was accompanied by enthusiastic applause. After that, till late that night, it was the mayor's show. There were acts not fit for printing, not on political grounds but because of common decency.

The next morning all of Pec was already buzzing about the events that happened last night in the hotel Karagac. The facts could not be hidden, because Muhamet Mulhadja had already been reprimanded last October by the Pec CCLC, for similar indecent behavior while intoxicated, during a meeting of sister cities in Travnik. Therefore expulsion from the Committee and a recommendation to resign as mayor, followed.

At the same time the SIA from Pec is gathering written reports from witnesses of the drinking binge at the Karagac. Written reports has up till now been signed by only three people, while one of them, who is an experienced political activist and leader, said to the SIA and also to us: "I do not want my name mentioned in connection with these events, because it is not fair that only three non-Albanians are talking while over a hundred Albanians are silent. Among them are also members of the LCY, as well as are the three of us".

However, since the Committee from Pec has informed the party committee in Pristina, an investigative group had been formed, which was to determine the political consequences of Mahmut Bakali's acts in public places, because the applause given to the former party leader of Kosovo, in the hotel Karagac was not the first nor the most thunderous.

That the authorities would not look the other way, when Mahmut Bakali and his behavior are in question, and that he will be treated as all other

citizens of SFRY, was demonstrated by a police patrol from Pec, only 5 days after the above described drinking binge.

In Rugovski kanyon, on 23 February of this year, around 4:30 pm, a police patrol from Pec stopped a Zastava 101 car, with Lubiana registration, whose driver was Gzim Salihu, employed in the office of Lubiana's Kompas in Pristina. The car was the property of Kompas-Rentacar. Other passengers in the car were also Uka Pecaj, employed in BOAW Bistrica in Pec, Skender Kada from the village Lubozda, near Istok, Amur Music, a teacher in Tutin, born in the village of Kosice, near Istok, Zenun Nurcaj, a worker of Izgradnia from Pec, and Mahmut Bakali, advisor of the Regional Association for Science from Pristina.

During the search, a dead rabbit and still bloody wild boar's tusks, were discovered. Since the hunting season is over by the end of February, police confiscated the poaching evidence and hunting gear: a Winchester rifle (according to the gun permit owned by Mahmut Bakali), a Ruby rifle, and a Revi camera. The Municipal Court in Pec certainly will not have a hard job to determine who shot what, because it seems that according to the good old hunter's custom, pictures were taken in theatrical poses with a foot on the killed animals.

The investigative group of the LC Municipal Committee, which should recommend a decision of how to judge the behavior of Mahmut Bakali, during the period from 5 March 1981 (when he resigned as a president of the LC Regional Committee of Kosovo, because of being insufficiently vigilant toward counter-revolution), up to April 1983, is tormented, despite having the support of the higher party forums.

The difficulty of this investigative group is not whether Mahmut Bakali was justly punished by the party in the summer of 1981, because, others were responsible for that. The trouble is that regardless what decision is reached (according to the statute of the LCY only expulsion remained), it will provoke all sorts of comments. Because if Bakali is expelled from the ranks of communists, a bitter taste will remain that it has been done because of a killed rabbit and a wild boar, along with the revel of the men's drinking binge. However it is the truth that Bakali, while his political power was at its peak, had hunted many a rabbit and many a wild boar, during and out of hunting seasons. Now it is said in public: Does Bakali lead a revel? So what? He did it while he was president of the Regional Committee. But then nobody even whispered about it, and today it is shouted from roof tops.

In fact, Mahmut Bakali, with his unbecoming behavior and roudy stays in bars, has contributed to the political instability in Kosovo. The last example: during the recent visit of Mitja Ribicic to Pristina, only 10 minutes after the president of the LC Presidency, arrived at the hotel Grand, Bakali, like a peacock, strutted through the hotel lobby. Many, present there at that time, understood that as a clear provocation. Is it not that Bakali with such an act, denies all of his promises, that he will continue on the party

line, and will remain a fighter for self-management, brother hood and unity, and other legacies of our revolution?

For all of 17 months, after his resignation as president (March 1981) and a member (June 1981), of the Regional Committee, Bakali has received a salary for a function which he did not perform. In September of last year, he was employed by the Regional Association for Science, with a salary of 25,000 dinars (including previous work). Salary increases for all of 17 employed in this organization by 12.5 percent, because of cost of living expenses, raised his salary to 28,125 dinars, so it cannot be said that he became a pauper.

A secretary of the Regional Association for Science in Pristina is Nikola Savelic, who while Bakali headed Regional Committee, was editor-in-chief of the JEDINSTVO, a Serbo-Croatian language paper in Pristina. We ask Savelic how he feels to be a superior to one former leader who once was in such a high position?

"It is not easy," said Savelic seriously. "I am trying to be very correct. Whenever he asks for a day off, I approve it. Otherwise, the staff determines a job for advisor Bakali. It is mainly the reading of scientific papers, of which he should give his opinion. We do not overburden him with jobs. A separate office, for his work, is provided. I think that he is doing his job with a certain satisfaction, because it should not be forgotten that he holds a masters degree in political science".

From the office to his apartment building, Bakali must pass twice by the university and public library of Kosovo. His comings and goings from home to office are accompanied by numerous greetings, many handshakes, and some times even with hugging and kissing with old friends and acquaintances.

Very close to Bakali's apartment, is also the very popular bar Rugsva, where the former president of the RCLC of Kosovo, is a regular patron. There the applauding is most frequent. Bakali's desire to be the center of attention, his obvious craving for popularity, even with the customers, is not a behavior that can be tolerated. And what, really, is that milieu that applauds him?

There should be no doubt that either the investigative group nor the presidency of the CCLC of Pristina, will assume the correct stand, because 2 long years have passed since Mahmut Bakali promised, when he resigned as a president of the RCLC that, with his behavior, he would contribute to the improvement of the situation in Kosovo.

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